

· DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD:
CORRESPONDENCE AND SELECT DOCUMENTS



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PREFACE

This volume is the tenth of the series entitled "Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents". This is a historical volume in the sense that it comprises selections of thoughts, achievements and contribution of the builders of modern India. These can confidently be pronounced as the foundation stones of the edifice of political thought, wisdom and foresight.

It never occurred to me that the labours which have been put by me in preparing this work was burdensome: On the contrary it has been a source of pride and honour to me to have undertaken this voluminous task. In presenting this series I was therefore filled with ecstasy when I received overwhelming encouragement in the shape of messages and reviews from learned readers, journalists and commentators. I do not feel hesitant in the least to say that the credit to involve myself in this gigantic task goes to the encouragement given to me by eminent journalists, the press as well as the critics.

The present volume includes most of the important letters and documents of historical significance written by a galaxy of leaders during the period. The texts reveal in depth their extraordinary foresight and wisdom. Among these leaders, Dr. Rajendra Prasad played the role of a central figure in solving many a difficult problem facing the country in that period by virtue of his position as the President of the Indian National Congress as well as the President of the Constituent Assembly of India, the Assembly which was preparing the country to assume the responsibility of a free India on transfer of power from British hands.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad was not only the presiding officer of the Constituent Assembly but it rested on him to get the Draft Constitution prepared in such a way that every article may prove to be self-explanatory, and free from all future controversy. This fact is amply brought out, for example, in the text of the letter which Dr. Rajendra Prasad wrote in August 1948 to Sir B.N. Rau, the adviser to the Constituent Assembly, as well as to the Government of India, which I quote here for the benefit of the readers:

"I have been considering various provisions of the Draft Constitution and have felt intrigued by one question which has now arisen in a concrete form and which may arise when the new Constitution comes into force, as there is no substantial difference between the existing Act and the Draft Constitution. The question is with regard to the assent to be given by the Governor or the President to a Bill which has been passed by the Provincial Legislature. Is the assent to be given by the Governor or the President, as

the case may be, in accordance with the advice of his Ministry, or has he any discretion to act on his own and against the advice of his Ministry? The relevant sections are Sections 75 and 76 of the Government of India Act and Articles 175 and 176 of the Draft Constitution. When the Governor and the President have to act as Constitutional Heads, it follows that they are bound to accept the advice of the ministers, and assent to a Bill which has been passed at the instance of the Ministry follows as a matter of course because the Ministry which has got the Bill passed cannot advise against assent being given. And this will be so even if the Bill is challenged on the ground that it is ultra vires of the State or Provincial Legislature. If the Ministry in the Centre belongs to the same party as that in the State, it is also not likely to advise the President to withhold his assent. Therefore this provision regarding assent becomes, in effect, meaningless if the Governor or the President has to act as Constitutional Head in accordance with the advice of the ministers. If on the other hand there is any discretion in the Governor or the President, the Draft does not indicate it. In England the King's assent is almost a matter of course, but there the Parliament is supreme and sovereign and there are no limitations on its powers so that no question of any legislation being ultra vires arises. That will not be the position in India, where the powers of the State and Union Legislatures are defined and limited and even apart from the fundamental rights guaranteed the three lists limit the powers of the legislatures. Will it be open then to a Governor or the President to withhold assent if a Bill which has been passed by the Legislature is challenged as being ultra vires and he is asked to withhold assent on the ground?

“I shall be obliged for your views on this point.”

In spite of having indifferent health and being medically advised to stay away from Delhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad was extremely anxious to see that his successor as the Congress President should be a person who could not only successfully steer the affairs of the Indian National Congress but could at the same time cooperate and co-ordinate effectively with the national Government.

A great virtue of Dr. Rajendra Prasad had been that he maintained an open mind and a neutral attitude as the representative of the organisation. In order to provide an insight into this aspect of his character I am quoting a few of the letters here.

Vallabhbhai Patel wrote to Dr. Rajendra Prasad on 19 September 1948:

I am certainly most willing to relieve you of your burden regarding Parliamentary Board affairs during your illness. You know my health is also not quite normal, and I have heavy responsibilities of Government, but even then I shall try my best to deal with the whole work adequately. You can ask all the papers relating to the Parliamentary Board to be sent to me.

I should like to say, however, that our difficulties in regard to the Parliamentary Board matters have been very much enhanced on account of the composition of the Board. Our original procedure was quite satisfactory and helped us to deal with the matters expeditiously and effectively. The constitution of the Board now is such that we get involved into long arguments and personal animosities with the result that progress becomes bogged. I feel that we should do something about it. In any case, it is a definite and great handicap to have to work with persons who have their finger in local politics and who are always approaching matters from a subjective instead of an objective point of view.

I shall also deal with Bihar matters and you need have no worry on that score. Please try to get well as soon as you can.

Shankarrao Deo came and spoke to me about the Presidentship of the Congress next year. He asked me to request you to stand for Presidentship once again. I told him that your health was the only reason which stood in the way of your standing again, but if you can persuade yourself to take up this burden, I am sure everybody in the country would welcome it and we shall also feel happy and relieved. At present there are four candidates, three of whom are members of the Working Committee and Tandonji is an outsider. If you stand there would be no contest and I do hope it will be possible for you to do so. But in case you still feel that you are not up to it, I feel we should settle this problem informally so that, if possible, a contest may be avoided. The time is short and I shall be glad if you can kindly let me know by telegram your own views. The matter is one which requires deep, earnest and urgent consideration, and I would request you to consider once again whether you can persuade yourself to stand for the Presidentship.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad wrote to Vallabhbhai Patel on 22 September 1948:

I am writing to the A.I.C.C. to refer all Parliamentary Board matters to you. I know the difficulties which are enhanced to some extent by the constitution but you have to do the best you can in the circumstances. I am thankful for your relieving me of this burden. I hope your health will stand the strain. For the last three or four days, there has been considerable improvement in my health. I hope now the progress will be maintained and I shall be able to gain strength soon.

As regards the Presidentship of the Congress, I told you my own feelings in the matter. I have felt that I have not been able to do justice to the work entrusted to me, very largely on account of my ill health which has somehow or other persisted ever since I took over charge. I do not know how it will behave hereafter and it was for this reason that I felt that I should not take this burden on me again. I have also a feeling that we should let other people now come and take responsibility. People may not express it and many may not even feel it but there is no doubt that in the minds of some at least there is a feeling that other people do not get a

chance and governmental as well as Congress authority remained concentrated in a few hands. I thought it will be wise not to disregard or minimise the effect of this sentiment. Considering all these things, I have been looking forward to a period of rest after the work of the Constituent Assembly is finished. I had a talk with Shankarraoji and also with Dr. Pattabhi and have told them that my decision was not to stand for the Presidentship. Dr. Pattabhi has also written to me a letter basing upon that conversation and asking for my support to his candidature. Shankarraoji, of course, insisted even then that I should stand. I feel that the Congress organisation requires careful and constant handling. I can see conflicts not only amongst Congressmen divided into groups in a Province but in the Congress Committee on the one hand and the Congress Government on the other. In some cases the conflict is solved either by the Congress Committee getting the upper hand and the Government changing or, as more often happens, by the Ministry being able to influence the composition of the Congress executive and practically running the Congress organisation also. I do not think, either position is satisfactory. It is a matter for consideration which we have not been able to give to the subject what the relation between the Congress organisation and the Government should be. We are sometimes apt to think that the Congress will remain in power in the Provinces always and an effort is made to arrogate powers to Provincial Committees or vice versa. There is a real risk for the future if the Congress organisation gets identified with the Government or rather the Government gets identified with the Congress organisation. If it can happen in the case of the Congress, it can also happen in the case of any other party which may for the time being manage to get into majority and then that party will take the place of the Congress and the Government and the party will become identified. We have, therefore, to draw a line somewhere about the functions and the responsibility which the Ministry owes to the Congress as apart from its responsibility to the legislature. This line is not clear and many difficulties arise. Whoever has to become the Congress President has therefore in the coming years to so run the organisation as to make it not only a capable organisation which will run the elections on adult franchise under the new Constitution but also take steps to remove the many grievances and complaints of which we hear so [much]. . . . It will also require clear conception of the present and future of the Congress. Because I have felt that my health may not be able to stand the strain, I have expressed my unwillingness. I know it will be difficult to make a choice but that difficulty has to be faced somehow. Kindly consult Jawaharlalji in the matter. If you both still think that I should take the burden, I cannot say 'no' and so long as my body can work, it will be at your service. But personally speaking I very much wish to have relief.

I am sending herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from Jawaharlal. You will see that he would also like you to stand and would be glad if you could continue as Congress President, provided you think that your health will be able to stand the strain, and that you should undertake this heavy burden at this critical juncture. My own view is that it would be demonstrably in the interests of the country as a whole if you could persuade yourself to continue as Congress President. Frankly speaking, I cannot think of any other suitable alternative. Do please let me know by telegram what you finally decide.

I got a letter from the Premier of Madras sending me a copy of the resolutions passed by the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. The resolutions amount to interference in the day-to-day administration of the Government, but in view of the delicacy of relations between him and the Ministers I have sent for him for a personal discussion in Delhi.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad wrote to Vallabhbhai Patel on 1 October 1948:

After several unsuccessful attempts, I could get you on the phone only this morning and I promised to write to you about the presidential election. I think, I made a mistake in throwing the burden on you and Jawaharlalji to say if I should stand as a candidate in spite of my ill health. Jawaharlalji is, I think, quite right in leaving it to me to decide whether my ill health will permit me or not. He will of course like that I should continue but does not like to throw on me the burden if my health does not permit it. As I told you and wrote to you on the very first occasion, I am feeling very uncertain about my health. It has been a source of continuous trouble to me for the past several months, and I have not been able to do justice to the work which was entrusted to me either as President of the Congress or as Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. I feel this very strongly and do not like therefore to take the responsibility once again which I may not be able to discharge. I would, therefore, beg of you to excuse me.

But as I wrote to you, there is another consideration also. I said that I have a feeling that there were people who would like that opportunity should be given to others to take this responsibility. That has now become clear. I have received a telegram from Madras in which an appeal has been made to me to support Dr. Pattabhi's candidature, whose candidature is supported by the Presidents of the Provincial Congress Committees of the seven South Indian Provinces, namely, Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Cochin, Mysore and Travancore, the last three being States which have now the status of Congress Provinces. I think that I shall be forcing myself on these Provinces if out of regard for me they were to withdraw their support from Dr. Pattabhi and transfer it to me if I remain a candidate and I do not like that kind of election if it becomes unanimous in this way. Besides, I have a feeling that it might become a controversy

between the North and the South which should be avoided. I have high regards for Tandonji but I would request him also to let Andhra have a chance this year as, so far as I recollect, no Andhra has ever become a President of the Congress during its long history of 63 years. Its contribution to Congress cause has been considerable and if there is a feeling in that Province that an Andhra should be elected President, it is quite intelligible. South as a whole has contributed very considerably to the Congress success but so far as Presidentship of the Congress is concerned, there have been, so far as I remember, only four Presidents so far, three of them being Tamilians, namely, Shri Anand Charulu, Shri Vijayaraghavacharya, and Shri Srinivasa Iyengar, and one Shri Shankaran Nair from Kerala. There has been only one President from the South, namely, Shri Srinivasa Iyengar during the last 27 years after Nagpur, which may be regarded as a period in which we have been associated. I would, therefore, have much liked that Shri Pattabhi should be brought in. I have great respect for Tandonji but I fear that if he remains in the field, it will become a dispute between the North and the South, which will be very harmful in the present condition of the country. I am therefore anxious to avoid this contingency and am prepared to make a personal request to Tandonji and the other two friends, whose names have so far come out, to let Dr. Pattabhi come uncontested. I do not wish to take any part in the canvassing for one candidate or another apart from writing private letters to the candidates themselves, with what effect, I do not know. It is very difficult for me to disregard anything that you say and it is not without much hesitation and cogitation that on this occasion I feel compelled to ask you to excuse me. I hope you will not mind this.

I may tell you also that I do not anticipate any kind of difficulty from Dr. Pattabhi. I feel assured that he will be very considerate and reasonable and I say this on the strength of what he himself has written to me. I have no doubt in my mind that he will give none of us cause to regret his election.

Vallabhbhai Patel wrote to Dr. Rajendra Prasad on 2 October 1948:

Thank you for your letter of 1 October which I received this morning.

Apart from considerations of merit and the requirements of the Congress at this critical juncture, my purpose in asking you to stand was to save ourselves from the embarrassment in which we are bound to find ourselves in the face of competing claims from our colleagues. I cannot press you further. If your decision stands, then I am afraid we shall have to face the music.

But I feel that once you have decided to stand out, the best policy is not to take any part, direct or indirect, in favour of any candidate. They are all colleagues of ours. They must be all preparing their own ground for a contest. To ask any one of them to withdraw is likely to be misconstrued as

preference for this or that man. I am sure you will appreciate that, when all of them are our colleagues, this sort of impression of discrimination would not be good.

Nor do I think for such a great position of honour as that of the President of the Indian National Congress we should import any provincial or regional considerations. It should be left to the electorate to decide who among the competing candidates should have that distinction. It would be short-sighted either to assume or to encourage the idea that it would resolve itself into a struggle between the North and the South. As far as I know, we have never approached this most momentous problem from the point of provincial or regional considerations, and I do not see why we should anticipate that it would necessarily result in such approach or it would lead to a conflict between North and South.

You are probably not aware that another candidate has entered the list, i.e. Kripalani. I understand that he has written to Jawaharlal apologising for his conduct in criticising Government and taking an anti-Government stand before the A.I.C.C. I cannot vouchsafe for it, but that is what I have heard. I also hear that he has stood at the suggestion of Kidwai who has been working behind the scenes.

Lastly, even though you may be writing private letters to the various contestants, it is inevitable that these private letters would be made public and would be exploited. A position would be created when ultimately you would have to speak in public to explain your stand. I would advise you to do nothing which would compel you to take that step.

In all these circumstances, my sincere advice to you would be to keep entirely aloof, if once you decide that you should not yourself stand. That is, in my opinion, the best and the wisest policy, but of course it is for you to decide ultimately what you should do.

I hope your health is now better. That should be your primary consideration.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad wrote to Vallabhbhai Patel on 10 October 1948:

Before I got your letter I had written to the three candidates whom I knew at the time but I had not written to Kripalani as I did not know for certain that he was going to stand as a candidate. I have been thinking over the matter ever since and particularly because you take a different view in the matter. But I feel that a contest between the North and the South will be most unfortunate and should be avoided at all costs. I have nothing personally against any of the other candidates and that aspect of the question has influenced me in asking the candidates to withdraw. I have done no more and propose to do no more but, as you say, it is possible that the thing may not remain a secret and may get published. I can only say that it will not be from my side.

As regards Kripalani, I am afraid there is an additional reason why he

should not contest. He resigned because he took a definite attitude on account of the differences between him and the Central Cabinet and his attitude was not acceptable to the Cabinet and presumably to the A.I.C.C. which accepted his resignation. His election can only mean one of the two things: either that he has changed his attitude and is seeking re-election or that he is still of the old opinion and the Congress delegates elect him because they agree with him. The first is not good for him personally nor will it be in keeping with the dignity of the position of the Congress President and the second interpretation will not be good from the Government point of view. Nothing should be said or done which lends itself to the interpretation that there is some rift between the Congress, as represented by its head, the President, on the one hand, and the Central Cabinet on the other. I therefore think that he should not in any case stand and I am writing to him also to this effect. I do not know what view Tandonji will take as he has not replied to my letter yet. If he stands there will be a clear contest between him and Dr. Pattabhi, if the other three candidates withdraw. I do not like this contest at all and my suggestion is that you should also use your influence so as to avoid this contest and not to allow the Southerners to have that feeling. A contest like this will be harmful from the point of view of the country and, after all, I do not think that there is anything so very serious against Dr. Pattabhi which should be allowed to cause a contest between the North and the South.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to Dr. Rajendra Prasad on 22 September 1948:

There has been a growing feeling among many people that I have met both here and in Bombay, and including a large number of members of the Constituent Assembly, that the question of creation of new linguistic Provinces is likely to give us a lot of trouble if persisted in the near future. I entirely agree with this. But I do not quite know what to do about it. The Enquiry Commission you appointed, to my surprise, is functioning in public and thereby encouraging an atmosphere of argument and passion. I had hoped that the Commission would not hold public sessions. Is it possible to do anything in this matter now?

It may be remembered that this was the most crucial period in the history of Indian nationalism when independent India was stepping into a democratic nationhood. This volume covers the period when the Constitution of India was being drafted and leaders were grappling with problems to arrive at a consensus and to lay down basic principles for the governance of the country.

One centre of raging controversy at that time was the declaration of official language of the country. In this matter also Dr. Rajendra Prasad gave ample evidence of his ability to perceive a problem in its proper perspective and to

locate a solution acceptable to one and all. In a letter addressed to the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on August 10, 1948, he visualised that "when the new linguistic Provinces are created, they will also undoubtedly adopt their own respective languages as the official language". He could foresee that if each Province made independent efforts for building up a terminology, it could lead to utter confusion and it would become difficult to evolve one national terminology. He therefore recommended a cooperative effort to avoid multiplicity of equivalents in different Indian languages for the same English word. This theme was later developed further when the Presidential Order of 1960 directed the evolution of an all-India terminology which would be acceptable to a large number of States.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad appointed a committee to report on adoption of a system of shorthand for Hindi and also for a standard typewriter. He nominated another body of experts to prepare translations of the Constitution in Hindi and Urdu. He also underscored the need of preparing a glossary of administrative, legal and judicial terms which are used in office correspondence, notifications, communiques, court documents, etc., so that there may be uniformity as far as possible. He was aware that much work had been done by various institutions, individuals and some governments. He felt that time had arrived when an expert committee could be asked to take up this work.

After the Constituent Assembly accepted Hindi as the official language of the Union, Dr. Rajendra Prasad felt that it had become all the more imperative to have a legal and constitutional terminology which would be common to all the major languages of India. With this objective in view he convened a Language Experts Conference.

It was on the basis of this conference that the Official Language (Legislative) Commission and the Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology tried to build a common vocabulary. To a large extent these Commissions succeeded in achieving the task assigned to them. Needless to say that it was the foresight of the great scholar that Dr. Rajendra Prasad was that provided the Commissions the necessary plan to build upon. Generations of scholars would owe a deep sense of gratitude to him on this account.

The arrangement of the correspondence and other documents in the volume follows the pattern of the preceding volumes. Correspondence—Part I includes letters written by or addressed to Dr. Rajendra Prasad while Correspondence—Part II contains letters exchanged between others copies of which were sent to him (Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President) for information, advice and action. Other contemporary important documents, including the All India Congress Constitution and the Congress Working Committee resolutions, have been given in the Appendices.

VALMIKI CHOUDHARY

26 July 1988
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CORRESPONDENCE

PART I

1. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
1 August 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

We have been informed by the Central Bank of India Ltd., Secunderabad, that under the ordinance of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government they cannot transfer funds from there to any of the Banks situated in Indian Dominion and so they have not been able to transfer amounts on account of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. I have thought it necessary to bring it to your notice for such action as you consider necessary. I would, of course, not like any relaxation on our side to secure transfer of this amount from Hyderabad Bank to any of our Banks on this side. But if there is any fear or chance of our funds being frozen or diverted by the Nizam's Government to other purposes, we have to consider whether we should allow any further collection to be made in the State for the Memorial Fund. I do not think collections are being made at a very rapid pace but in any case if the funds are likely to be lost, we might stop collections altogether. I am trying to find out what the amount involved is and shall be obliged for your advice in the matter. I am forwarding a copy of this letter to Sardar Vallabhbhai.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
17 York Road, New Delhi.

2. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
2 August 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Many thanks for your letter No. 1089/PM dated 31st July 1948 regarding the complaint that Congressmen are interfering with the work of administration here and there. I had myself received complaints of that sort and some days ago I issued a letter addressed to all Presidents of Provincial Congress Committees, a copy of which I am enclosing. I had thought of following that up by a more

specific suggestion. Now that your letter has come, it has strengthened my hands.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
17 York Road, New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

3. *From Kewal Motwani*

C/o Postmaster, Pusa Institute
New Delhi
August 3, 1948

Dear Elder,

I called at yours the other day and was sorry to hear that you were unwell and were leaving Delhi. I do hope that you will recover soon and come and guide the affairs of the Congress.

Since the problem of my stay in Delhi was becoming acute everyday, I had no alternative but to remind Panditji of my existence and my eager expectancy of a call from him. If you can also write to him and thus reinforce my plea for adequate recognition and appreciation of my services rendered without any assistance from any individual or organisation during the last 16 years, I shall be thankful. You will recall that our mutual friend, Mr. Jamshed Mehta, wrote to you on my behalf the other day.

Mr. Chakradhar Sharan gave me to understand that you will probably be unwilling to write to Sri Chopra and Sri Krishnan, the two Presidents of the Indian Science Congress, along the lines suggested in my note attached to my letter of July 28th. I shall be thankful if you will kindly let me know your decision in the matter.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,
Kewal Motwani

Dr. Rajendra Prasadji
Pilani.

4. From Govind Ballabh Pant

Lucknow
August 3, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Will you kindly refer to your letter dated June 23, 1948, together with a copy of a letter from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on the position of Urdu in our schemes of educational reorganisation? I enclose a note in regard to the matter from which, I trust, you will see that the allegation that Urdu has been given no place in our educational system and that we are forcing Hindi on the minority community is baseless. Provision has been made for the teaching of Urdu in all types of educational institutions of the Province. At the same time the importance of Hindi has naturally been greatly increased and in this probably lies the explanation of the fact why it is being alleged in certain quarters that Urdu is being driven out of the United Provinces.

2. A copy of the reply to Shri Lari's letter who is not satisfied with the position of Urdu in the new educational syllabuses and has raised the question is also being sent for your perusal.

Yours sincerely,
G.B. Pant

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Congress President
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Enclosure 1:

(Note on the respective positions of Hindi and Urdu in educational reorganisation schemes)

The system of education in the United Provinces from July 1948 has been divided into three stages:

- (a) Basic Schools from classes I to V,
- (b) Junior High Schools from classes VI to VIII,
- (c) Higher Schools from classes IX to XII.

(A) *Basic Schools from classes I to V:* Government have decided to make Hindi as the state language of the Province. It has been further decided that instruction in Basic Schools should henceforth be given in the child's mother tongue. We have recently issued a Government Order No. A-3725/XV-3114-1948, dated July 15, 1948, on the subject, a copy of which is enclosed. It will be seen from this Government Order that though medium of instruction in the Basic

Schools up to class V shall be Hindi, in special cases and where there is a demand for providing for instruction also through Urdu such provision will be made with the proviso that the children passing out of class V of such Schools will have to pass a compulsory test in Hindi so that they may be able to follow the compulsory course of Hindi in class VI. It is proposed that the language used in the classroom as medium of instruction should be simple and easily understandable by all the children in the class.

(B) *Junior High Schools from classes VI to VIII:* Hindi has been introduced as a compulsory language from class VI with effect from the current session, but provision has been made for Urdu as an optional subject so that the children taking up Urdu in classes I to V may be able to continue their Urdu in Junior High Schools.

(C) *Higher Schools from classes IX to XII:* Hindi has also been introduced as a compulsory subject in classes IX and XI this year but candidates for the High School Examination of 1950 can answer questions in Hindi or Urdu in all subjects except English. In class IX two standards have been prescribed: one for those who have not studied Hindi in earlier stages which is up to the standard of class V only at present, and the other for the rest. Urdu has been provided as an optional subject in classes IX to XII.

From the above it is clear that all possible facilities are being given to the Urdu students in our educational institutions.

(Copy of Government Order No. A-3725/XV-3114-1948, dated July 15, 1948)

I am directed to say that consequent on the decision of Government to make Hindi as the state language of the Province, Government have further decided that instruction in Basic Schools, i.e., primary education in classes I to V shall henceforward be imparted in the child's mother tongue. As the mother tongue of the majority of the population of the Province is Hindi, the medium of instruction in the Basic schools shall be Hindi, but in special cases local bodies and other authorities in charge of primary education may be permitted to make provision for instruction also through Urdu in areas where there is a demand. No student, who does not take such education in Hindi, will, however, be allowed to pass out from class V unless he also passes an examination in Hindi in class V. The standard of attainment of the knowledge of Hindi for that examination will be prescribed by a competent authority.

2. According to the new syllabus, which will be introduced with effect from July 1948, in class VI with Hindi as a compulsory subject, classes VII and VIII will continue, for a period of two years, the old syllabus in which Hindi is not a compulsory language. In order that non-Hindi students, who pass out of classes VII and VIII with old syllabus to class IX in July 1949 and 1950, may be knowing Hindi, a compulsory course of Hindi of the standard of class V will be introduced from July 1948 in classes VII and VIII. Thus a non-Hindi student will have to appear at the end of class VIII in a Hindi paper of the standard of class V.

Enclosure 2:

(Copy of letter from Govind Ballabh Pant to Z.H. Lari)

Lucknow
August 3, 1948

Dear Mr. Lari,

Will you please refer to your letter dated July 14, 1948, raising amongst other matters the question of the place of Urdu in our new educational curricula? This reply is confined to the points raised by you regarding the teaching of Urdu in the educational institutions of the Province.

2. The position does not seem to have been clearly placed before you and I am bringing the following facts to your notice so that it may be correctly appreciated.

The system of education in the Province has been divided into the following three stages:

- (a) Basic Schools from classes I to V.
- (b) Junior High Schools from classes VI to VIII.
- (c) Higher Schools from classes IX to XII.

3. I find that the position in regard to the teaching of Urdu in each of the above stages is as below:

(a) *Basic Schools*: Consequent on the decision of the Provincial Government to make Hindi the state language of the Province, Government have further decided that instruction in Basic Schools (classes I to V) should henceforth be imparted in the child's mother tongue. As the mother tongue of the majority of the population of the Province happens to be Hindi it has been decided that the medium of instruction in the Basic Schools should ordinarily be Hindi, but that at the same time in special cases where there is a demand for the teaching of Urdu, Urdu will be taught in place of Hindi as the language and the various subjects may also be taught through the medium of Urdu. This is the intention of G.O. No. A-3275/XV-3114-48 dated July 15, 1948, copy enclosed. The curriculum of Basic Schools has now to be read in the light of this G.O. A student who does not receive instruction through the medium of Hindi up to class V will, however, have to pass a compulsory but elementary test in Hindi while passing out of class V so that he may be able to follow the compulsory course of Hindi in class VI.

(b) *Junior High Schools*: Hindi has been introduced as a compulsory language only in class VI in the current session but will eventually be compulsory up to class VIII. The classes VII and VIII will continue in the main for a period of two years on the old syllabus in which Hindi is not a compulsory language. Provision has been made for Urdu being taught as an optional subject throughout the Junior High School stage so that children wanting to have Urdu beyond class V may have the opportunity to do so. Para. 2 of the G.O. dated July

15, 1948, will show that in order that non-Hindi students who pass out of classes VII and VIII with the old syllabus to class IX in July 1949 and 1950 may know Hindi, a course of Hindi of the standard of class V will be introduced from July 1948 in classes VII and VIII. It is obviously desirable that all students of these classes should learn Hindi so that when they enter Class IX and the higher classes or Higher Schools they may have sufficient working knowledge of Hindi. It is appreciated that the language used in the classrooms as medium of instruction should be simple and easily understandable by all the students in the class and the Department will do its best to promote the use of such language.

(c) *Higher Schools*: Urdu has been provided as an optional subject in classes IX to XII and candidates for the High School Examination for 1950 can answer questions in Hindi or Urdu in all subjects except English. Hindi has been introduced as a compulsory subject in classes IX and XI this year. Two standards have been prescribed in class IX: one for those who have not studied Hindi in earlier stages which is up to the standard of class V only at present, and a higher standard for the rest.

4. I hope that it will be clear from the foregoing that all reasonable and necessary facilities are being given to the non-Hindi students in our educational institutions. The impression that no provision exists for teaching Urdu must obviously be due to some misapprehension as if it had been so all Urdu teachers in primary and secondary schools would have been dismissed; but no such action has been taken, nor has any such complaint been made by anyone. I hope you will find the position stated above sound and satisfactory.

Yours sincerely,
G.B. Pant

Shri Z.H. Lari, M.A., LL.B., M.L.A., M.C.A.
26 Hamilton Road, Allahabad.

5. *From M. Tayyebulla*

CONFIDENTIAL

Shillong
4th August 1948

My dear Doctor Saheb,

I am addressing you on the subject of affiliation of the Cachar district in Assam, as reconstituted after the Sylhet Referendum, with three subdivisions, viz., Karimganj (left out by the incorporation of the other part of the original Karimganj subdivision in Pakistan), Silchar Sadar, and Hailakandi. Just after relinquishing my office of President of the Assam Provincial Congress

Committee I toured in all the subdivisions of the district last month; so I am giving my impressions to you.

Bardoloi must have apprised you of the whole question at Delhi the week before last. Before that you must have received the resolutions of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee on the subject. You will have by this time received also a letter from the President of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee opposing the reactionary move on the part of some gentlemen of Cachar for a separate Province with Cachar, Manipur, Tripura and Lushai Hills.

As Bardoloi must have told you, the overwhelming opinion in Cachar is against this separate Province move. I visited almost all the places in the interior of the three subdivisions and met almost all the leading Congress and Jamiat-Ulema leaders, also Muslim League. At every place addresses of welcome, on behalf of the Congress Committees, Jamiat-Ulema, the public and the students, were presented to me, in every one of which a demand for affiliation of the Cachar district to the Assam Provincial Congress Committee was made. At every place the move for a separate Province was strongly opposed. I found that the Muslim opinion was solidly against the move for a separate Province. Bardoloi's figure given to you was 90%, as I am told. I can make bold to say that it is very near cent per cent. The Manipuris residing in Cachar, who constitute a considerable section of the people, were found to be strongly opposed to the idea of a new Province.

You will find in the record at the A.I.C.C. office a letter written in 1947 by me as President to the Congress President in which I discussed the historical, cultural and political aspects of the whole question. Acharya Jugal Kishore will be able to find that out for you.

The Cachar District Congress Committee, as is carrying on at present, was an Ad Hoc Committee constituted in 1940. I have found during my tour, and knew it before also, that no regular District Congress Committee was ever formed. The Ad Hoc Committee, which is in the grip of some self-seeking Congressmen, is an unwanted Committee in the whole of the district. As Bardoloi must have told you, out of about 37 subordinate committees under the very Ad Hoc District Congress Committee as many as 34 are opposed to the idea of a new Province, while they are for affiliation to the Assam Provincial Congress Committee. The Hailakandi Subdivisional Congress Committee and the Karimganj Subdivisional Congress Committee both resolved for application of Cachar to Assam P.C.C.; while out of 19 primary committees under the Sada Sidchai D.C.C. as many as 15 resolved for application to Assam P.C.C. The sponsors of the new Province move, including Mr. Satindra Mohon Dev, M.L.A., proprietor of a vernacular weekly, *Surma* (which is the organ of the separate Province movement), could not, when asked by me, face any public meeting anywhere in the whole of Cachar except at the headquarters. The President and Secretary of the Ad Hoc Committee, whom I asked in writing to arrange public meetings and workers' meetings in the district during my tour, could not come in the open before a single rural meeting. I may tell you that at every place I visited,—Pathar-

kandi, Karimganj, Kabuganj, Silchar, Sonai, Algapur, Lakhipur (a Manipuri colony), Lala, Hailakandi and many other places,—people, especially Congressmen and Jamiat, were resenting the continuance of the Ad Hoc Committee which, according to them, was creating havoc in Congress politics in the district. The Ad Hoc Committee is universally unpopular in all the three subdivisions.

Now that Cachar, an integral part of Assam, is cut off from West Bengal, being intercepted by the Eastern Pakistan, any idea of keeping Cachar under the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee cannot arise. Cachar must naturally be affiliated to the Assam Provincial Congress Committee with three District Congress Committees, viz., Karimganj District Congress Committee, Silchar District Congress Committee, and Hailakandi District Congress Committee. The need is urgent in the interest of the Congress itself. I hope and trust that you, in consultation with the Assam Provincial Congress Committee, will kindly direct immediate steps for the proposed affiliation.

I must add that the language question, which is made much of by the sponsors of the separate Province move, should not cloud the issue.

I shall be grateful if you send me an early reply.

With salam and love,

Yours sincerely,
M. Tayyebulla

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Congress
New Delhi.

6. From Jawaharlal Nehru

No. 1143-P.M.

New Delhi
The 6th August 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I enclose a letter from Mr. A.M. Allapichai. When in Madras I met a number of Nationalist Muslims who complained to me both of the behaviour of the old Muslim Leaguers and of the general feeling against Muslims as well as of some decisions of the Madras Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Enclosure not included.

7. To Vallabhbhai Patel

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
7 August 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Here is a letter received from a gentleman whom I do not know. He, however, represents a not inconsiderable opinion in the Orissa States. The people, of course, have had never an opportunity of declaring whether they would like to have a separate union of their own or be merged in the Province of Orissa. The people of Mahratta States got that opportunity and they decided in favour of merger. It is not safe to assume that all such opinion is inspired by the Rulers. Whether there is merger or not, the Rulers of course cease to have any power, but the opinion of the people should not be ignored. At any rate, it should be ascertained.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(A letter from Jaladhar Deb to Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

Bobbili House
Maharanipeta
Waltair

Dear Shri Rajendra Prasad,

I beg to write a few facts for your kind and serious consideration. Indians got their freedom but the subjects of the Eastern Garjat group have not tasted the happiness of freedom as yet. They shall get no opportunity to free themselves from the fetters that are being moulded by the Premier of Orissa with the help of Mr. Patel. As President of the Indian Congress my complaint to you is that why should there be war between brothers? Why one Province would try to usurp the property right and privilege of another Province? Garjat is a separate [entity] from time immemorial. Neither Mussalmans nor Marhattas disintegrated them. The British Government thought it advisable to keep them as they were and did not amalgamate them in any Province. Practically the Garjat States were under Central Government till the British quit India. Democracy and autocracy cannot go hand in hand. Therefore the Rulers had to surrender their rights. But the subjects should have got their right of self-rule. But as soon as Mr. Patel left

Orissa with agreement from the Rajas Mr. Mahtab tried to take possession of these States by show of heroism and force. Practically he did so. The States are in a besieged state. Freedom of speech [is] denied to them. Lathi charges, bayonet charges, imprisonment, externment, internment are going on in full swing. To Kalahandi State Gurkhas were sent and they depraved and raped some women. And the police was vigilant to frighten the Adibasis that if they say against merger they would be imprisoned and their lives be at the mercy of the Gurkhas. On the 25th instant four Adibasis of Bamra were killed and some wounded because they pleaded that they wanted union. On what ground, on what authority Mr. Mahtab is oppressing and killing innocent people is unknown. Mahatma a few days before his death said that no State should be merged without the consent of the people. Does Mr. Mahtab care a bit for Mahatma's wish? He is dead and gone. After his death Mr. Mahtab has given a nice burial to truth and non-violence. Falsehood has been the fashion of the day and violence is rampant. Who is going to enlighten us with the true fact? We are in total dark. There is a tussle between Garjat subjects and the Orissa Government. The former is praying for union in a non-violent way and the latter with violent and military force and ammunition. Sir, is it democracy? Who is going to protect us? We are ignorant and uneducated. The people of Orissa are better educated than us, because they came in contact with the British administration from the very beginning. Survival of the fittest is the chief principle of evolution. Orissa people are experts in various ways whereas the Adibasis are not. If States will be merged, the Orissa people will thrive and we will dwindle. Knowing all these things why the Central Government is mum is a dilemma to us.

The Central Government have formed six unions less in area and population than the Garjat group. Still [it is an] irony of fate that our States are going to be merged in Orissa.

Sir, you are President of the Congress. You should know the behaviour of the Congress members and also should know how the vow of the Congress is being ignored for power and unlawful gain.

Necessity knows no formality. If I lack in formality I may kindly be pardoned. I am an old man of 76 in externment.

Yours sincerely,
Jaladhar Deb

8. From Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
7th August 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner has sent a telegram saying that the Bikaner Praja Parishad have asked for permission from the All India Parliamentary Board to participate in the forthcoming elections to the new Legislature and

fears that it may not be possible to obtain this permission in time. The Praja Parishad have asked for postponement of elections for a month or so, but because he considers that *Dussehra* would be an auspicious date he is averse to postponing elections. Moreover, he feels that any further postponement would be prejudicial to the interests of the State. In these circumstances, he has requested me to expedite a decision on the Praja Parishad's application for permission. I should like to know how the matter stands and whether we could do anything to assist His Highness.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

9. To Jawaharlal Nehru

Camp: Pilani
Pilani P.O., Jaipur State
7 August 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Sometime ago Mr. Jamshed Mehta of Karachi wrote to me recommending Mr. Kewal Motwani who, I believe, has already approached you and about whom Mr. Mehta had probably written to you direct. Mr. Motwani saw me when I was in Delhi sometime ago. He has spent a long time in foreign countries and has made a special study of sociology, and appears to be a man of talents. It should not be impossible for us to utilise his knowledge and experience in a suitable way in the interest of the country. He wants an interview with you which perhaps, in the midst of your multifarious engagements, you might still make time to give him.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
1 Roberts Road, New Delhi.

10. To Kewal Motwani

Camp: Pilani P.O.
Jaipur State
7 August 1948

Dear Mr. Motwani,

I have received your letter dated August 3rd, and have written to Pandit

Jawaharlal Nehru about you recommending your case and asking him particularly to grant you an interview. Kindly contact his Secretary.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri Kewal Motwani
C/o Postmaster, Pusa Institute
New Delhi.

11. *From Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh*

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

6 Suren Tagore Road
Ballygunge, Calcutta
7 August 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Our P.C.C. election took place yesterday. I am sure you have seen the result in the Press. How I wish that the contest were not there.

While in Delhi, I told you that so far as Bengal-Bihar boundary controversy is concerned, I did not like the idea of plebiscite at all; whatever might be the result, that would embitter the Bengalee-Biharee feeling to such an extent that it would be well nigh impossible for the Bengalees to remain in Bihar and for Biharees to remain in Bengal after the plebiscite. There would be even breaking of heads during the plebiscite. I suggested to you in Delhi that one or more High Court Judges from outside Bengal and Bihar might be appointed and their decision should be final. No Congressman should carry on any agitation either in the Press or on the platform and there should be a general appeal to stop propaganda in this behalf altogether. People can only go with facts and figures before the Commission. I wish this controversy were not raised at all at this juncture. But unfortunately it is there. Even Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, a member of the Central Cabinet, speaks in one way and Panditji, the Head of the Cabinet, speaks in another strain. I think, on matters of policy, only the Prime Minister should speak and not individual members of the Cabinet. You know, so long I have not said anything publicly at all, nor should I even now. But if even a member of the Central Cabinet begins to speak differently, it only puts us in an embarrassing position. People tell me: "If Dr. Mookerjee, being in the Cabinet, can speak, why can't a member of the Working Committee speak?" I have not even given publicity to my idea that the matter should be referred to one or more Judges for final decision. I do feel that this matter should be taken up at the next meeting of the

Working Committee, if possible. If Congressmen in both the Provinces join in the controversy, the situation will deteriorate.

While in Orissa, I found sufficient bitterness there also against Bihar.

As regards myself, I am sure you have heard from Jugal Kishoreji what was finally decided.

I hope your health is improving at Pilani.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Prafulla Ghosh

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

12. To Govind Ballabh Pant

Camp: Pilani
Pilani P.O., Jaipur State,
7th August 1948

My dear Pantji,

Please find enclosed herewith a letter against Shri Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim. This letter is also like the one I sent you on a previous occasion, not signed but only the name of the writer is typed. I am sending it on to you for what it is worth.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Premier of U.P., Lucknow.

Enclosure not included.

13. To Purushottamdas Tandon

Camp: Pilani
P.O. Pilani, Jaipur State
7 August 1948

My dear Tandonji,

I have been informed that the Congress Committees of Nagina and Najibabad

have adopted resolutions against Shri Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim. I wonder if the Provincial office has any information about it. I shall be obliged if you look into the matter and let me know what official resolutions have been passed by the Congress Committees above named and who the prominent persons concerned were.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri P.D. Tandon
President, U.P. P.C.C.
Wala Qadar Road
Lucknow.

14. *From Govind Ballabh Pant*

Camp: Naini Tal
August 7, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have just learnt from the papers that you have shifted to Pilani for a short rest. Trust you are feeling better.

I am sorry to have to bother you. This is in connection with the letter you sent me on the 26th of June regarding certain complaints about the way money was being collected for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. The complaint enclosed therewith did not give any particulars about the place where the excesses were said to have been committed. It referred to a report which had been published in the *Netaji* of 20th June 1948. It took me some time to get a copy of this paper. I was not aware of its existence and do not yet know what circulation it commands.

I have had enquiries made about the alleged compulsion. I enclose herewith the report of the District Magistrate. He has characterised the complaint as quite false and baseless. The paper stated that a villager attacked a Tahsildar with a weapon as the latter was compelling another villager to pay for the Fund. No collections are being made by any official of the district and so no occasion for such treatment could possibly have arisen. Collections are being made only through non-official agencies and the officials, as I have already informed you, are not taking any part in making these collections. The story that a chaprasi was found weeping because Rs.10 had been deducted from his salary is equally unfounded. Some Civil Court and Collectorate officials voluntarily agreed to contribute ten days' pay in seven instalments. Only they are making this contribution. No pressure was exercised on anyone and those who did not like have not made any contribution whatsoever.

I shall be going back to Lucknow in three or four days..
With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
G.B. Pant

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Congress President
Pilani (Rajputana).

Enclosure:

(Copy of letter from Shri Ram Rup Singh, Collector, Pilibhit, to the Chief Secretary to Government, U.P., Lucknow)

Reference your D.O. No. A/1135(1)/II-A-48 dated July 29/30th, 1948, forwarding a post copy of the express telegram No. A/1135/II-A-48.

I have the honour to say that the facts contained in the cutting from *Netaji* of Delhi, referred to in the said telegram, are quite false, and it is a pity that newspapers should publish such baseless news. In accordance with the standing instructions of the Government, no collection work of Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund is being done by any official of the district and hence the question of attack on the Tahsildar by someone does not arise. Collections are being made through non-official agencies, and only those gentlemen have been entrusted with this work who have been nominated by the members of the Legislature and other prominent and responsible Congress workers selected by the District Committee of Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund.

Some of the Civil Court and Collectorate officials voluntarily agreed to contribute 10 days' pay in seven instalments from the month of June 1948 towards the Gandhi Memorial Fund. There was no compulsion on them to make such contributions. No Government officer is taking part in making these collections. The officials themselves passed a resolution to contribute 10 days' pay and the willing officials are making this contribution while others are not contributing anything and no pressure is being exercised on them.

15. *To V.K. Krishna Menon*

Camp: Pilani
P.O. Pilani, Jaipur State
August 7, 1948

My dear Shri Menon,
May I introduce to you Shri Ramaiyaji who has gone there to have further

training for "Labour Management". I shall be obliged for your kindly giving him such assistance as he may need during his stay in London.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri V.K. Krishna Menon
High Commissioner for India
London.

16. *To Sir B.N. Rau*

Camp: Pilani
Pilani P.O., Jaipur State
August 8, 1948

My dear Sir B.N. Rau,

I have been considering various provisions of the Draft Constitution and have felt intrigued by one question which has now arisen in a concrete form and which may arise when the new Constitution comes into force, as there is no substantial difference between the existing Act and the Draft Constitution. The question is with regard to the assent to be given by the Governor or the President to a Bill which has been passed by the Provincial Legislature. Is the assent to be given by the Governor or the President, as the case may be, in accordance with the advice of his Ministry, or has he any discretion to act on his own and against the advice of his Ministry? The relevant sections are Sections 75 and 76 of the Government of India Act and Articles 175 and 176 of the Draft Constitution. When the Governor and the President have to act as Constitutional Heads, it follows that they are bound to accept the advice of the ministers, and assent to a Bill which has been passed at the instance of the Ministry follows as a matter of course because the Ministry which has got the Bill passed cannot advise against assent being given. And this will be so even if the Bill is challenged on the ground that it is ultra vires of the State or Provincial Legislature. If the Ministry in the Centre belongs to the same party as that in the State, it is also not likely to advise the President to withhold his assent. Therefore this provision regarding assent becomes, in effect, meaningless if the Governor or the President has to act as Constitutional Head in accordance with the advice of the ministers. If on the other hand there is any discretion in the Governor or the President, the Draft does not indicate it. In England the King's assent is almost a matter of course, but there the Parliament is supreme and sovereign and there are no limitations on its powers so that no question of any legislation being ultra vires arises. That will not be the position in India, where the powers of the State and Union Legislatures are defined and limited and even apart from the fundamental rights guaranteed the three lists

limit the powers of the legislatures. Will it be open then to a Governor or the President to withhold assent if a Bill which has been passed by the Legislature is challenged as being ultra vires and he is asked to withhold assent on that ground?

I shall be obliged for your views on this point.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sir B.N. Rau
Constitutional Adviser to
the Government of India
New Delhi.

17. *From A.V. Pai*

PRIME MINISTER'S SECRETARIAT

No. F.2/86/48-PMP

New Delhi
8th/9th August 1948

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

The Prime Minister has asked me to send you a copy of the correspondence with one Giuseppe Lombardi, an Italian artist, regarding a bronze bust of Mahatma Gandhi, which he would like us to buy. The artist says that the estimated price of the bust is £400. The Prime Minister would be grateful to know whether you or the Trustees of the Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Fund would like to consider the artist's request and would like us to do anything in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
A.V. Pai

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

18. *From Shankarrao Deo*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref: G-2/4416

7 Jantar Mantar Road
 New Delhi
 9 August 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

According to programme I reached Delhi on the 7th. I had read in the Press that you had left for Pilani on the 1st. I hope the change of climate has improved your health. Your stay there, I hope, will bring about a complete recovery before you begin work in October. We had a very good tour in the 3 States in South, holding conversations with the workers and ministers. We also got first-hand knowledge about the working of States organisations. I think very shortly we will be in a position to give you a report of the affairs there.

Yours sincerely,
 Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
 Chandra Bhawan
 Pilani (Jaipur State).

19. *To Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

Camp: Pilani
 Pilani P.O., Jaipur State
 9th August 1948

My dear Sir,

Please excuse me for not writing to you so long although you have been good enough to write to me so many letters and send to me so much literature relating to current topics as also the memorandum on Bengal's claim to parts of Bihar. The reason, as explained to you by Chakradhar Sharan in his letter dated 1st August, has been my ill-health which made it difficult for me to study and even to keep pace with the ordinary correspondence. I came here on the morning of the 3rd as the climate of this place is dry. I am feeling better now and am now trying to overtake the arrears of correspondence. But as fate would have it, since my coming here this place too has been more or less continuously cloudy and since last night it has been drizzling. The air has become humid and there is also a strong breeze

all of which is not good for me. But I have so far been able to resist the effect of these hostile elements. I believe this kind of weather for this place is only a passing phase, and I hope it will all clear up in a day or two when it will become exceptionally dry.

I hope you have been keeping well in Patna in spite of the rather murky climate of that place during this season.

I have now read all your letters and the cuttings as also the memorandum. I would indicate my replies to the queries shortly.

There is no foundation for the news which was published that the terms of reference of the Commission appointed by me have been enlarged to include the question of revision of boundary lines between Bengal and Bihar. I have received a letter from Mr. Driver asking me to refer the question of creation of an Industrial Province out of the coalfields and mining areas of Bihar. He has given his reasons, which he has also published and which you have seen, for his request. I am writing to him that I do not propose to take any action on his letter. I have noted the opposition which has been offered to the suggestion of a referendum on the question of amalgamation of parts of Bihar claimed by Bengal. I have no doubt that this opposition is based on the apprehension that the result of plebiscite might go against the objectors.

Radhakrishna met me in Delhi. I read your letter after he had left me, but was still in Delhi. I sent to him two letters, one for Sir N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar and the other for Shri Mohanlal Saksena. I think it is the former who is concerned with the settlement of the claims regarding evacuee properties and, therefore, while I wrote also to Mohanlalji, I emphasised, in my note to Radhakrishna, to meet if possible Sir Gopalaswamy Ayyangar with my letter. As I came away that very day I did not have the opportunity of meeting him again, and so I do not know if he got my letter in time and was able to meet Sir Gopalaswamy Ayyangar and Shri Mohanlal Saksena.

I have read the memorandum prepared by you and, if I may say so, the case could not have been better put and more convincingly explained. There is hardly any comment which I need to offer. There are one or two points to which I would draw your attention.

In the introductory chapter there is a passage at page 5, where quotation is given from a Press Conference addressed by Mahatma Gandhi in September 1944. The same thing is repeated in another part of the memorandum and perhaps that repetition is unnecessary.

In Chapter IV at page 21, I find a passage which runs as follows: "or speakers of some mixed or corrupt *patois* like the Rarhi of Manbhum area". I feel some doubt if Rarhi is spoken in Manbhum area. It is of course spoken in parts of Bhagalpur and Santal Parganas but I am not sure about its being spoken in Manbhum area. Can Rarhi be a mistake for Kumali? You may perhaps get this verified.

At page 41 I find a passage which runs: "Similarly while the total expenditure debited to revenue in West Bengal amounts to Rs.30,97,57,000—that is,

appreciably less than the estimated revenue—that of Bihar is Rs.20,08,89,000 only, that is, covering practically the whole expected revenue." The contrast here is not so marked. It appears from a previous sentence in the same paragraph that the total revenue receipts of West Bengal were estimated at 31 crores, out of which 30,97,57,000 are debited to expenditure, which really covers practically the whole of the revenue. In the case of Bihar the estimated revenue is over 21 crores, out of which 20,08,89,000 are debited to expenditure, which really leaves a larger balance in Bihar than in Bengal. This sentence might be amended to make it more accurate.

At page 57 I find a reference to a meeting of the Manbhum D.C.C. held on 30th May 1948. There is a slight error in the number of votes mentioned. The motion was defeated by 55 votes against 43 votes in its favour and 5 not voting out of a total number of 103 present. The so-called resolution is really not a resolution. It is a long thesis covering some 18 typed pages of foolscap size. It is true that it contained the statement that Manbhum was a Bengali-speaking area, but there was no proposal that on linguistic basis it should be amalgamated with West Bengal, although after reading the whole thesis one is not left in doubt about the opinion sought to be expressed. I wrote a letter to Shri Kumudbandhu Bagchi in which I said about this very meeting that had negatived the resolution. Objection has been taken to it by Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh, President of the D.C.C., on the ground that the contents or the purpose of the proposal were not of that kind whatsoever. In his words, "the main contents of the proposal" are summarised as below:

In it we discussed all the aspects of the redistribution problem in order to make people understand it and take it in the light of the Congress principle, ideal and attitude behind it; and also we reviewed in it the activities which are being pursued in the district regarding this question in contravention of the Congress ideal, instructions and justice and with the narrow provincial mentality and hatred and undesirable means, creating all sorts of confusion in the minds of the people. Stating the truth and real state of things, we have also defended in it the civic right of the people and the right in their language which are being put to victimisation for an undesirable political motive. We have discouraged in it all kinds of propaganda and canvassing in favour of, or against, any Province, so that ill-feeling and bitterness may not arise and we may keep faith in the High Command and keep the atmosphere helpful for them for their discharging responsibility regarding redistribution. We have stated in it our decision and stand that, may there be the principle regarding the question, may there be claims though justifiable of the parties concerned, but we and the people of the district should wait, watch and look forward to, and abide by, the decisions of the High Command whatever they may be, which they (the High Command) may think good for the people, and the greater good of the country; and we should rely upon the leadership and the justness of the

High Command who have been, with the implicit faith, given the responsibility of administering the principles of the country and managing things according to their just decisions.

I do not like that there should be even half a sentence in the memorandum which could be challenged on the ground of accuracy and would, therefore, suggest that the sentence "English translation of the resolution etc. . . ." should read as follows: "English translation of the resolution was at a later meeting circulated. In it there were many assertions one of which was that Manbhum was a Bengali-speaking area." This should be followed by: "This resolution, when pressed to a division, was defeated by 55 votes against 43 in its favour, 5 keeping neutral."

There is one general suggestion which I would like to make with regard to this. You have made quotations from various letters and reports written mostly by European officials of the I.C.S. Unless these are very bulky and contain other irrelevant matters and also statements which might create confusion, it perhaps would be better if they were reproduced in full in the form of appendices. But if, on the other hand, they are bulky or contain other statements which might confuse the reader, the best thing is to leave the memorandum without the appendices and be content with the quotations made in the text of the memorandum.

I am returning the memorandum herewith.

I am hoping to stay here for some time and that this will find you in good health.

Yours affectionately,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, D. Litt, Bar-at-Law
Patna.

20. From Shankarrao Deo

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref: G-2/4462

10 August 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

I hope you have received my letter sent yesterday. Today I am sending you a letter received from Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt. I think there is much substance in what he says, specially in the States it would be very difficult to find real effective

members who will contest for the legislative bodies on Congress tickets. That may also be true in the unions. I think, as Gokulbhai suggests, the qualified membership should be sufficient for those who will stand for elections on the Congress tickets to the legislative and local bodies. We would like to have instructions on this point because this question may come before us often. Gokulbhai wants instructions as early as possible.

I hope you are well.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Chandra Bhawan
Pilani (Jaipur State).

21. *To Shankarrao Deo*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
The 10th August 1948

My dear Deo,

Please find enclosed a letter which I have received from Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. I remember that you were present with me when we considered Mr. Diwakar's report, but I am not sure. Anyway, I accepted Mr. Diwakar's report and accordingly accepted the action of the Working Committee of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. As one of our colleagues in the Working Committee feels that it is a fit case for revision, I shall be obliged if you kindly give a preliminary hearing to Sri Venkataraju and his friends and if you feel that there is a case for reinvestigation we might take steps in that behalf. In view of the long standing of Sri Venkataraju as a Congress worker and of the high opinion in which he is held by prominent Congressmen like Dr. Pattabhi and Sri Kala Venkata Rao who spoke to me about him, I think we should not on our side leave anything undone to give him satisfaction that his case has been given as fair a trial as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sri Shankarrao Deo.

Enclosure not included.

22. To Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
The 10th August 1948

My dear Dr. Pattabhi,

Your letter to Chakradhar about Sri Venkataraju has been seen by me. As you know we appointed Mr. Diwakar to go into this matter and I accepted Mr. Diwakar's findings after going through the paper with some care. But personally I do not wish to stand on prestige and I have no objection to the matter being re-examined particularly because you have written so strongly about it. I am writing to Syt. Deo to hear Mr. Venkataraju and other friends accompanying him and if he feels after preliminary hearing that further investigation is necessary, we might once again arrange for it.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
Member, Congress Working Committee
19 Canning Lane, New Delhi.

23. To Jawaharlal Nehru

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
10th August 1949

My dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Several Provinces like the United Provinces, Bihar and Central Provinces have adopted Hindi as their state language. One of their decisions is that all their administrative work will have to be done in Hindi language and possibly the judicial and legislative work also will have to be done in the same language. Bengal has adopted Bengali and the Bengal Secretariat has already started noting on files in Bengali. When the new linguistic Provinces are created, they will also undoubtedly adopt their own respective languages as the official language. They are all experiencing some difficulty in finding equivalents of English administrative and legal words. Efforts are being made independently in each Province to find such equivalents, and possibly there will be many cases in which different words drawn from Sanskrit will be used in the different Provinces as equivalents of the same English expressions. This will create confusion and it will become difficult to evolve one national language, whether it be Hindi or

Hindustani. The best course, of course, would be to have one Indian word which will be accepted at least in those parts of India which have as their source the Aryan language. It will be possible to have the same words also used in the South to a considerable extent and where that is not possible, one word which will be common to all the Dravidian languages might be found to express the meaning of the standard Indian word which will be equivalent of the English word. To avoid multiplicity of glossaries giving different Indian equivalents for the same English word, it has been suggested that there should be one authoritative glossary prepared, which should be acceptable to all the Provinces of the North and, to a considerable extent, also in the South. I have received a letter from the Prime Minister of Bihar in which he has made this suggestion.

As advised by you I have appointed a Committee to give an authoritative opinion about the system of shorthand which should be adopted for Hindi or Hindustani and also about the standard typewriter and teleprinter. The Committee is engaged on this work. Other Committees have prepared translations of the Draft Constitution in Hindi and Urdu and, I understand, a Hindustani version also is under preparation. The legal and constitutional terms used in the Draft have thus been furnished with their Hindi or Urdu equivalents, and they may possibly also find their Hindustani equivalents. It has become necessary to prepare a glossary of administrative, legal and judicial terms which are used in office correspondence, notifications, communiques, court documents, judgments, etc., so that, as stated above, there may be uniformity as far as possible.

Such uniformity will be necessary particularly in legislation and in legal work, if judgments delivered by the High Court of one Province have to be intelligible to other High Courts, and in appeal to the Supreme Court. Interpretation of provincial Acts also will be facilitated and chances of confusion and ambiguity avoided, if uniform expressions are used in legislation throughout the country. Time has therefore arrived when an Expert Committee could be asked to take up this work. I am aware that much work has been done by various institutions, individuals and some Governments in this connection. One of the functions of the proposed Committee will be to collect all available material and to evolve a uniform vocabulary out of the material available and, if necessary, also by framing and coining new expressions. To enable the Committee to perform this function with efficiency and speed, some amount of spade-work will be required, which may be best done by a batch of research workers who may be employed on this work.

Another implication of the adoption of a national language and of provincial languages by the various Provinces for their work will have to be investigated and that is the amount of cost that will be involved in the change-over. For example, we may take the small item of typewriters. One does not know what the number of typewriters that will have to be replaced will be and what they will cost. Not only the machines but also in many cases the men who work the machines will also have to be changed. There is a dearth of Hindi or Hindustani typists, and

training of a large number of people in shorthand and typewriting will have to be undertaken. This will also involve expenditure of a not inconsiderable amount. The secretarial and clerical staff may also have to adapt themselves to the changed conditions.

All this indicates that a detailed and thorough examination of these financial and other implications will have to be undertaken, so also the preparation of a glossary as indicated above. To help in both these matters a group of research workers to collect the material is necessary, and this work must be done before the Committee is appointed. I would therefore suggest that the Government might take up this work or, if the Government so desires, the Constituent Assembly might take up this work also. In case you agree with me that this work has to be undertaken, I might make concrete suggestions as regards the staff for the preliminary work and later on the Committee might be appointed. Both these things could be undertaken either by the Government or, if the Government so desires, by the Constituent Assembly.

There is only one point which needs consideration. The question of the national language has not yet been decided by the Constituent Assembly and the Committee to be appointed may have one complexion if the decision is in favour of Hindustani and somewhat different complexion if the decision is in favour of Hindi. But so far as the preliminary work is concerned, there may not be much difference. Whatever the decision may be, material will have to be collected and that without making any distinction between Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani. It is thus clear that this preliminary work should be started even before the Constituent Assembly has taken any decision in the matter and the Committee might be appointed after the decision has been reached. I request that the question might be considered by the Government and its views communicated to me.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi.

24. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

Camp: Pilani
Pilani P.O., Jaipur State
10 August 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,
I have seen in the papers that arrangements have been made on behalf of our

Government in Western Pakistan to issue permits to those Muslims who wish to return to India. There is, it is said, a great rush for permits and photographs have been published in papers showing crowds of applicants for them. It is also stated that some 350 permits are being issued on an average every day. It works out to about 10,000 permits per month. All this is quite satisfactory from one point of view and that is that our Government has been able to create conditions in India which have restored confidence not only in those Muslims who have remained in India but also in those Muslims who had migrated to Pakistan.

There is, however, another aspect of the question which may not be ignored. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments have not been able as yet to resettle and rehabilitate more than two million of non-Muslim town-dwellers, traders, business people, professional men, etc., who migrated from Western Pakistan to India. These refugees are becoming impatient and it is becoming a very delicate and serious problem how to deal with them. Further, there is not only no migration of non-Muslims from India to Pakistan but there is a steady stream of non-Muslims still coming to India from Western Pakistan, particularly Sind. This stream would become more voluminous if more transport were available, and there are several lakhs of such people anxiously awaiting evacuation from Pakistan to India. Transport being limited, any transport made available to returning Muslims means depriving non-Muslims of their transport. As stated above, on an average there will be something like 10,000 permits issued per month and, if what is stated in the newspapers is correct, then many of the permit-holders will be shifting with their families, which means at least 30,000 or 40,000 Muslims returning to India per month on this basis. Every permit carries with it the necessary promise that the permit-holder will be treated on his return to India as a national of India and in the same way as any other national. There is also the further implication that these returning Muslim refugees will claim to be rehabilitated and resettled in India just as other refugees and on the same footing. They will certainly be entitled to claim back possession of their houses and lands which they left behind when they migrated. I wonder if the Government of India or the Provincial Governments will be able to fulfil these expectations which are not only natural but also implicit in the permits granted to returning refugees. If they are not able, it is bound to create discontent amongst the Muslim refugees. Our Government can fulfil these expectations only by ejecting those non-Muslim refugees who have been settled on the houses and lands of these Muslim refugees and I have serious doubts if it will be a practicable proposition to eject refugees from places where they have been inducted by the Government.

I have not said anything so far about Eastern Pakistan. There also there have been anything between one and two million of people who have come from East Bengal to India and the stream is still flowing from East to West without interruption. There has been no counter-migration from West to East to any appreciable extent and there is none taking place now. The Bengal situation is also becoming more and more difficult every day and is creating problems which

I hope the matter will receive the earnest consideration of the Government.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
1 Roberts Road, New Delhi.

25. From Vallabhbhai Patel

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
10 August 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

The bearers of this letter are the Raja Sahib of Bobbili, the Raja of Venkatagiri, and the Yuvaraja of Pithapuram. They wanted to see me to draw my attention to the failure of the Assembly Congress Party in Madras to implement the decisions of the Parliamentary Board on the Zamindari Bill. I told them that this was entirely in your hands and have, therefore, asked them to see you. I hope you will be able to spare a few minutes for them.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

26. From Surendra Mohan Ghose

11 August 1948

Dear Sir,

Herewith I am sending you a report of the first General Meeting of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee over which I had to preside. The elections of office-bearers, the Executive Committee, the Election Tribunal, and of the Credentials Committee were among the agenda. There was contest in the election of the President. The election was held by open voting. Point of ruling was

raised that according to the circular of the A.I.C.C., election should have been held by secret ballot. Another dispute was also raised that the counting was vitiated as some names were entered twice in the attendance register which showed some discrepancy of figures as found in the counting and as revealed from the scrutiny of the attendance register. The register was signed by all the members entering the meeting ground—which had no enclosure and was open yard in a private house—the owner of which was a candidate for an important post in the P.C.C.

All these points I am referring to you as also the validity of my presiding over the meeting without being duly proposed but by virtue of my being the outgoing President of the defunct Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

Before the meeting was concluded, I got some representations from some members of the W.B.P.C.C. questioning the validity of the election of President and also the subsequent proceedings. I did not mention this in my report as I am sending the copies of these representations to you and as the disputants also might have sent their representations to you separately.

I hope you will please give your opinion on these points at an early date.

Yours faithfully,
Surendra Mohan Ghose
President of the first General Meeting of the W.B.P.C.C.

The President
Indian National Congress
7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(Report of the first General Meeting of the W.B.P.C.C. held on
6 August 1948)

The first General Meeting of the newly formed West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was held on the 6th morning at the Kumar Singh Hall. I occupied the chair as the outgoing President of the defunct B.P.C.C. The Committee has been composed of 334 members including 149 members from East Bengal who have been allowed to function as delegates for West Bengal. The agenda of the meeting was to elect office-bearers, the Executive Committee, the Election Tribunal, and the Credentials Committee.

When the proceedings commenced, references were made to the death of Mahatma Gandhi and of some Congress workers of Bengal. After this, Shri Prafulla Chandra Sen proposed and Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh seconded the name of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee as President, and Dr. Sushil Ranjan Chatterjee proposed and Shri Kiran Sankar Roy seconded me as another

candidate for Presidentship.

I asked the members to divide and sit on two different sides as supporters of the two candidates. Votes were counted by counting of heads. The result showed that 175 voted for Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee and 156 voted for me while three remained neutral. The total number of members present as found from the attendance register was 334—which figure tallied with the total obtained from the counting. Yet, as there was some doubt about the accuracy of the counting, a second counting was arranged. This time the outgoing Secretary Shri Kalipada Mookerji was reading out names from the attendance register. As names were being called, the members were standing up in their respective places with their admit cards.

At this stage disputes arose over 2 or 3 points. First, some names were found to have been entered more than once in the register which was signed by the members themselves. In the first case of the alleged double entry of a name, it was verified that the name had been actually entered twice. I put it to the member himself and he admitted and I also personally examined the register. I was satisfied that the name was entered twice and there were two signatures of the same member. Naturally there was some confusion. Two other cases of double entry were later on detected—Involving two candidates for two very important offices. There was so much confusion, then that it was not possible for me to examine the register any further.

The second point of dispute was of a more serious nature. Dr. Pratap Chandra Guha Roy rose up on a point of order. He asked if there was any circular from the A.I.C.C. to the effect that in case of contest for the presidential election, votes should be taken by secret ballot. I enquired of the outgoing Secretary if there was any such circular. He did not give me any definite reply. Thereupon I myself looked into the A.I.C.C. file of the B.P.C.C. office and found the circular which directed that in case of contest, the presidential election "*shall be held by secret ballot*". The directive was so definite that I felt that the procedure of election that was going on, was not valid. But I immediately realised that the B.P.C.C. having met the old P.C.C. with its executive and office-bearers became *functus officio* and if elections were postponed there would be a vacuum. So, I decided that the elections should proceed even in contravention of the A.I.C.C. direction. Besides, as passions were running high in the meeting and as I was a candidate myself, I felt I should announce the result as was then found. I admitted before the House that the circular was never brought to my notice and I was not aware of its existence. I also had to admit that if my attention had been drawn to this circular at an earlier stage, I would have had to abide by the direction of the circular. If my candidature was not involved in the dispute, I would have been in a better position to act according to the directive of the circular. Assuring the disputants that I would refer the whole matter to the Congress President I announced the result of the open voting as found by counting of heads. The second counting by calling out names from the attendance register could not then be proceeded with; and it was left unfinished.

A section of the House protested against my ruling and walked out. A few of the disputants remained but did not take part in the subsequent proceedings which included the election of five Vice-Presidents, one Secretary, five Asstt. Secretaries, one Treasurer and an Executive Committee of 92 members. Elections of five Vice-Presidents, five Asstt. Secretaries and 92 members of the Executive Council were done by block voting, i.e., one list was read and proposed and accepted without any opposition.

When the question of the formation of the Election Tribunal and of the Credentials Committee came up, there was all confusion in the meeting. Moreover, about half the number of the House was then either absent or was abstaining from participating in the proceedings. So I ruled that these two items should not be taken up and should be referred to the Working Committee.

I have now to refer three points to you: (1) Whether the election of the President was vitiated as it was not done by the secret ballot as directed by the circular as it was a contested election. (2) My second point of reference is about the double entry of some names. This disclosed a discrepancy in number. From the attendance register it was found that there were 334 members present. Counting by heads showed 175 in favour of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee, 156 in my favour, and 3 neutral. The total attendance, i.e., the figure 334, of course, included the names entered more than once. This means that there was in fact less than 334 members attending—at least less by 3 as three names were detected to have been entered twice. So the figure as found by counting of heads was not correct. Then one member, Shri Ratul Chandra Ghose, had gone out just before the meeting started working and he was not allowed—as he has alleged—to enter the meeting for at least 2 hours till the election was finished. His name was read out several times when counting by reading out names was going on. He was not found present in the House then. So, in addition to 3 being neutral, he also should be taken to be neutral—which would make the number of heads counting to be 175 for Dr. Banerjee, 156 for me, and 4 neutral, giving a total of 335. But the total of 334 as found from the serial number in the attendance register was not correct as some names—3 so far detected—were entered twice. So the figures as found from the counting of heads are apparently not correct. The election result has been declared on this counting. So my second point of reference is whether this result should stand or be reversed. (3) I do not know if my presiding over the meeting was quite in order; I was not proposed to the chair. But it was suggested that as the outgoing President I should be in the chair and none objected to this. I make a reference of this point also.

I hope that considering the present condition of the Province you will give your verdict at an early date. No atmosphere of uncertainty should be allowed to continue. I have ceased to be the President of the P.C.C. and the new President and the other newly elected office-bearers have already taken over charge.

27. *From Shankarrao Deo*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

P.B. 11/4537

7 Jantar Mantar Road
 New Delhi
 11 August 1948

Dear Rajen Babu,

We have received a list of 51 candidates who have been chosen by the Cochin State Praja Mandal for the election to the Legislative Assembly of the State. The election will take place in September. They have sent a list of all those who applied, who withdrew, whose applications were rejected, and who were finally accepted. According to the resolution of the Working Committee, the Congress Parliamentary Board is ultimately now responsible for the Parliamentary activities in the States carried out by the Praja Mandals of the States who have been recognised as Congress Committees, either district or provincial. It is for the first time that the well-organised Cochin Praja Mandal is fighting the elections after the Congress has taken over the responsibility of the different activities of the people of the States. There is an organisation which calls itself Cochin People's Congress which is opposing the Cochin State Praja Mandal. It is an organisation of the people who have vested interests in the State and who have been opposing the interests of the people and also the Cochin State Praja Mandal. It was first the Cochin State in which the Maharaja gave responsible government to the people. The Cochin State Praja Mandal was not in a position to accept the responsibility of carrying out the government on its own strength and, therefore, coalition with other parties or groups was necessary. In the course of administration the representatives of the Praja Mandal found that the other groups are not helping them in carrying out the administration according to the policy and programme of the Cochin State Praja Mandal and they resigned because they found they would be in minority in relation to the various groups which combined. Thus the Cochin People's Congress is now in power and wants to oppose the Cochin State Praja Mandal and if possible prevent the real representatives of the people coming into power. Its name is such as to create confusion and mislead people. This organisation is not affiliated to any other organisation nor is under the control and guidance of any political organisation outside the State. The Cochin State Praja Mandal is affiliated to the All India States People's Conference and therefore it has been recognised as the Congress organisation of the State by us. During my tour in the Cochin State I made this position quite clear and I declared from various platforms that it was the Cochin State Praja Mandal which was now the representative of the Congress in the Cochin State and the Congress was responsible ultimately for all its activities.

This was necessary to clarify the situation and help the people to discriminate between the two organisations of which one was working under the control and guidance of the Congress. Now they have naturally sent according to our rules a list of their nominees to the final Assembly for our approval and they expect that we will give our approval and declare so. Of course, those whose applications have been rejected have not been intimated by us that if they have any complaints against the Cochin State Praja Mandal, they can send them to us. I think, in the present circumstances, this is not possible nor is there much time. I do not think any serious complaint will come nor any real injustice done to anybody. I have met the President and the Secretaries of the Cochin Praja Mandal and the Parliamentary Board. They are men who can be trusted. Therefore, I would request you to give your final approval to the lists in your capacity as the President of the Parliamentary Board (I do not think a meeting of the Board is necessary) and issue a small statement asking the voters of the Cochin State to vote in favour of the candidates of the Cochin State Praja Mandal as they are now the candidates of the All India Congress. The elections are due in the 2nd week of September. So an early approval and the issue of a statement would help them in their propaganda work and also to win the elections. I am sending you all the papers that the Secretary of the Parliamentary Board has sent to us. If you send your approval and statement to us we will see that your instructions are carried out.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Pilani.

Enclosure not included.

28. *To A. Kaleswara Rao*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
11 August 1948

Dear Mr. Kaleswara Rao,

I have received your letter dated 29th July 1948. I have come here on medical advice for rest. All the papers containing complaints against the Ministry in general and particular Ministers of the Madras Government were handed over to the Ministers by me and they have sent long explanations regarding every point that is raised in the complaint. The papers are so voluminous that it is not possible for me to study them personally but I have asked the office to study

them. Shri Shankarrao Deo visited the Presidency some days ago and before he left for Madras I had asked him to look into the matter if he could make time. I have not heard anything from him as to whether he was able to look into the matter. This letter of yours contains fresh complaints. I do not know what the A.I.C.C. can do in such cases. It simply means that it has to look into every small little act of a Minister or an Officer under the Minister and I do not think it is possible for the office to undertake such detailed examination of everyday happenings. The best course, of course, is for public opinion and for the Party and the local Congress organisation to assert themselves if they find that there is something fundamentally wrong with the Ministry. After all they are there because they are able to command support of majority of the Assembly. The President of the Congress cannot convert that majority into minority and if all that is alleged against the Ministers is true, then it is not only the Ministry that is to blame but it is the entire Province and its representatives who are to blame because they permit such things to be done. As suggested by you, however, I am passing on this letter also to the office to be studied along with the other papers to which reference has been made above.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri A. Kaleswara Rao
1 Nageswarapuram, Mylapore
Madras.

Copy, with Mr. Rao's letter, to A.I.C.C. Office, New Delhi.

Rajendra Prasad

29. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Pilani
12 August 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Many thanks for your letter dated 7 August 1948 regarding Bikaner elections. So far as I am aware, I have received no communication from the Bikaner Praja Parishad asking for permission to participate in the forthcoming election to the legislature of the State. But I am making enquiries from the office of the A.I.C.C. If any application comes to me, there will be no avoidable delay so far as I am concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi.

30. To B.F.H.B. Tyabji

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 12, 1948

My dear Mr. Tyabji,

Please excuse the long delay in acknowledging your letter dated 10th July 1948 and the book *Hommage A Gandhi*. I am very interested to learn how your work is getting on there. It must be a novel experience and hence very interesting. We have our difficulties with the world outside which does not always clearly understand our position. Yet it naturally devolves on our diplomatic representatives to clear all cobwebs of misunderstanding and establish the best of relations between our country and the other countries to which they are deputed. I have no doubt you, with your experience and urbanity, will be able to create the atmosphere that is required. Not knowing French I am not able to understand the book but I can gather this much that it is really a collection of appreciative notices of Mahatma and his work. I received a note from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who suggested that we should, on behalf of Gandhi Memorial Committee, collect all books, pamphlets and other writings dealing with Mahatma Gandhi and his work. I am on the look out for a man to take up this work, and we hope to make a good collection, which will be preserved in a library or museum which will be established by the Memorial Committee in due course.

We have not yet finished the work which was started when you were here, but a Draft Constitution is now ready and we are going to meet in the Constituent Assembly sometime after the middle of October to consider this Draft and finally adopt the Constitution. It may be a prolonged session but we hope we shall be able to complete the book before the year is out. It will then take some time to bring it into operation as organising elections on the basis of adult franchise will itself be a tremendous job and will take time.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Mr. B.F.H.B. Tyabji
Embassy of India
Boulevard St. Michel, 111
Brussels, Belgium.

31. To Mrs. John Matthai

Camp: Pilani
 Jaipur State
 12 August 1948

My dear Mrs. Matthai,

Please excuse me for not being able to attend to your letter dated 19th July 1948 asking for a grant of Rs.10,000 from the Punjab Relief Fund for helping refugee women by supplying them with sewing machines and other means for earning their livelihood. I have referred the matter to the Committee and will let you know when a decision is taken.

Yours sincerely,
 Rajendra Prasad

Mrs. John Matthai
 Ministry of Relief & Rehabilitation
 (Women's Section)
 Government of India
 New Delhi.

32. To Jawaharlal Nehru

Camp: Pilani
 Jaipur State
 August 12, 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Many thanks for your letter enclosing a letter from Mr. Allapichai from Madras. I am going to write to the Provincial Congress Committees of Tamil Nadu, Andhra and Kerala about the points raised in the letter and on hearing from them I shall take such steps as may be advised.

Yours sincerely,
 Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
 1 Roberts Road, New Delhi.

33. From Vallabhbhai Patel

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
12th August 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th August 1948 regarding Orissa States.

2. The decision to merge these States with Orissa was taken after a due consideration of all the relevant factors including public opinion. In no State have we consulted public opinion in the sense in which you perhaps intend. Even in the Mahratta States, it was an improvised legislature which voted for merger, and there was no referendum or plebiscite. The question of consulting such a legislature in Orissa States did not arise, because no such legislature existed. I know this for a fact, however, that all the Praja Mandal workers I met in Orissa on this question wanted merger. We have not consulted public opinion in Seraikella and Kharsawan either on the question whether they should merge with Bihar.

3. I am sure you will appreciate that it is no longer possible to put the progress of the clock backwards, merely because of a clamour from certain sectional interests. The policy followed in the case of Orissa States is the same as has been followed in the case of Mahratta States, Garjat States and Chhattisgarh States. That policy has been approved universally throughout the country. The so-called Orissa States were recognised as States only recently; actually, they were little more than glorified zamindaris. I do not think we can countenance any solution other than what has already been achieved.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

34. From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

Sinha Library Road
Post Box No. 62, G.P.O.
Patna
12th August 1948

My dear Rajendra,

Radhakrishna returned from Delhi day before yesterday, and told me all about your very great kindness to him in giving him letters of introduction to Gopalaswamy and Mohanlal, with which he saw them. They were both very kind to him. But at a time like the present, when practically an open war has been declared between Pakistan and India, I am very doubtful if their assistance will

be able to achieve much. I am hoping for the best.

Chakradhar sent me a batch of typed papers in connection with the wretched Bengal-Bihari dispute and connected matters. I read them with great interest. I may be prejudiced against Bengalis so far as this controversy is concerned. But I feel that they have been guilty of gross impropriety (to put it mildly) in taking up such a hostile attitude against you personally, and against the Bihar Government, and the Biharees, in general. It is a pity that Shri Mashruwala published a scathing condemnation of the Bihar Government on the basis of a forged circular, which has been repudiated by the Government, and also by the Education Minister personally. Shri Mashruwala has written an article withdrawing his charges in the last issue of *Harijan*. But I hold him guilty of serious journalistic impropriety in doing what he did, without sending the forged letter to the Prime Minister or the Education Minister for its verification. I hope you agree with me in this view of the matter.

It is a pity that your ill health prevented you from sending back the memorandum with your notes and suggestions. Under instructions from Government it has now been sent to the press, and I shall send you again a clean proof of it in a few days' time and shall await its return with your suggestions for improving it before I get it finally printed.

Lastly, there is a controversy going on at present about some circular you are said to have issued. There is a leading article on it in this morning's *Indian Nation*, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith. I know nothing about the matter, and do not even understand it clearly. I shall be grateful to you if you will kindly take the trouble, health permitting, to tell me something about it. I have not yet formed any opinion on the subject.

I earnestly hope that you are now appreciably better and that the stay at Pilani has done you good. Kindly tell me in reply to this letter all about your health and welfare and let me know how long you propose to stay there. All of us are well here.

I remain,
Ever yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

Enclosure:

(Copy of an article published in the *Indian Nation* dated 12 August 1948)

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S CIRCULAR

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's latest circular letter to the Premiers of Provinces, forwarding the suggestion that some liaison should be established between the Provincial Governments and Provincial Congress Committees, raises grave political and constitutional issues. First, the circular by the Congress President to the Premiers of Provinces laying down certain directives for improved

Administration does not obtain the sanction of the democratic procedure. It is true that Congress is in power. But the Congress Administration is not to function for the interests of Congressmen alone. It may be a Government of people. Why should the Congress President choose to issue directives to the Congress Premiers that they should work in cooperation with Congress Committees in order to understand public complaints and to remove them? There are men and women who do not belong to the Congress organisation, who do not obtain any hearing in the Congress court, but who are entitled to place their grievances before the Congress Government. Secondly, Congress Premiers can be officially directed in administrative matters by the Prime Minister of India. The Congress President should have, in constitutional propriety, forwarded his suggestion to the Prime Minister of India who should be the proper channel of all such communications. Thirdly, if Dr. Prasad's directives are literally followed, where is the room for the stamping out of grievances caused by corrupt and dishonest Congressmen? The Provincial Congress Committees and the District Congress Committees will place their point of view and will try to shield their party men. If Congress Premiers are advised to consult the Congress Committees and if district officials are directed to keep the District Congress Committees in humour with regard to public complaints, there is the end of democracy and justice. The circular is tantamount to the declaration that Congress Governments will ask for tips from the Congress party. Who will then look into complaints against Congressmen and dole out equal and just treatment to people? The circular will encourage the forces of reaction.

In the Draft Constitution of India the fundamental rights and the directive principles of the state are catalogued. The circular of the Congress President contemplates an India governed by the Congress Ministers in consultation and collaboration with the Congress Committees. Even district officials will officially consult the District Congress Committees to know public complaints. Those who are outside the umbrella of the Congress organisation are thus threatened with bad days for them. They can hardly expect justice from the Administration which will be directed to be in touch with the Congress Committees. Party Government means that the Ministry is recruited from a single political party. But the said circular confuses the issue and wants that the Administration should be soaked with the influence of the Congress party. We shall be glad to know the reaction of the Congress President if any non-Congress Ministry, should it come into power in any particular Province, ask the district officials to take their directives from the ruling party organisation and want to advertise it as the normal democratic procedure. The rider that the Congress President has asked Congress workers not to interfere with local officials will deceive nobody, particularly when district officials will be told to consult the District Congress Committees in the matter of public complaints. The circular thus upsets the scheme of things formulated in the Draft Constitution of India and negatives all the Congress protestations of democratic rule. This close alliance between the party and the government, as envisaged by the Congress President, is associated

with totalitarian and fascist rule. We are really surprised: we are profoundly disturbed. We wait for more light on the Congress President's circular from authoritative quarters.

35. *To Sucheta Kripalani*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
12 August 1948

My dear Suchetaji,

I am herewith enclosing a letter which I received from the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister. At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund a request from Bahawalpur State Relief Committee for financial assistance was considered. The Board was of opinion that this should be investigated by me with a view to ascertaining the feasibility of providing assistance from the Congress Relief Fund and the United Council for Relief and Welfare. I promised to get the matter investigated. I hope you will kindly make the necessary enquiries and report for necessary action. The investigation should be also regarding the status of the Committee and whether we could entrust it with funds for the purpose.

I am enclosing also a letter from Mrs. Matthai, Officiating Director of the Women's Section of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, for a grant of Rs.10,000 for funds to be placed at their disposal for giving immediate relief to deserving cases among refugee women. I request that the matter be considered at an early meeting of the Committee and a reply be sent to Mrs. Matthai. Personally I think we should be able to place this sum out of the Punjab Relief Fund but I leave it to the Committee to decide.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Smt. Sucheta Kripalani
6 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi.

36. To Master Tara Singh

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
The 12th August 1948

My dear Master Tara Singhji,

I have received your letter dated 29th July. It is true that the Commission which I have appointed to investigate the question of creation of new Provinces does not include within its terms of reference the question of creating a Punjabi-speaking Province. As a matter of fact, so far as the Constituent Assembly is concerned, this is the first time that a request of this nature has come to me. The demand for creation of Provinces in the South has been a long-standing one and has been enforced in some cases by resolutions of the Provincial Assemblies and a number of public organisations in those areas. It was in pursuance of this persisting demand that this Commission was appointed and naturally it does not include areas about which no such demand has been made in a similar way, at any rate, so far as the Constituent Assembly is concerned. You will also please note that the appointment was made in pursuance of a recommendation of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly which does not refer to the Punjab. Therefore, I do not think that the Constituent Assembly was to blame for not including this demand within the purview of the Commission. It is not necessary for me nor do I think it would be proper to express any opinion on the points which you have raised regarding the claim which you have put forward. So far as the Congress is concerned I am quite sure that it will stand by whatever pledge and promise it has made in the past. The Sikhs, I believe, have now in a body decided to join the Congress. Many of them were there even before this but even those that had kept out so long have now decided to come in. It is certainly up to them to raise whatever questions they like from their point of view before the Congress but whether this particular proposal will be the best from all points of view is the one about which there is evidently difference of opinion, certainly between the Sikhs on the one hand and others on the other, and perhaps also between the different groups of Sikhs. We all appreciate the position of the Sikhs and nobody wishes or proposes to do anything which will injure them either as individuals or as a community. I do not think any occasion has arisen for anyone to conclude that the Sikhs are wrong in putting any trust in the Congress.

As regards the points raised regarding recruitment in services in the last three paras of your letter, I may tell you that I have received innumerable complaints from the Hindus that they are being ousted and figures supplied in answer to questions in the East Punjab Legislative Assembly have been placed before me in support of that complaint. It would really help to clear the position if statistics are collected and I would like the Punjab Government to do so. I am passing on your suggestion to the Government to collect the figures and let me have them. We all realise the importance of the frontier which is not a natural frontier now

and we have no doubt that the Sikhs will play in the future a great part in the frontier Province. We are anxious to create an environment which will give satisfaction but you will realise that this requires whole-hearted cooperation of all parties concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Master Tara Singhji
Prabandhak, Shromani Akali Dal
Amritsar.

37. To Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
The 12th August 1948

My dear Dr. Ghosh,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 7th August 1948 which has reached me here. I came here in the hope that the weather of this place would help me but unfortunately for me Pilani is as wet this year as any other place and so the expected improvement has not yet come about. I am expecting, however, that weather will clear and when it does, I shall make rapid progress.

I have seen the result of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee election in the Press. I am not able to understand the significance of it. I thought that the contest would be between East and West Bengal but, as it turned out, it was between two gentlemen from East Bengal. I do not quite know what all this indicates. Please let me know.

As regards your suggestion that the Bengali-Bihari controversy might be considered by the Working Committee, I have no objection to its being taken up at its next meeting. It is very unfortunate that a Minister of the Central Cabinet should say anything which contradicts what the Prime Minister says. You know I have kept quiet on this controversy and except for replying to personal letters which I could not help replying, I have kept quiet. One of such replies has been published and that itself has created a controversy around it because it contained the suggestion that the matter could be settled by a plebiscite. The Commission which you suggest will also have to go by the wishes of the people concerned and not by written records only. I am told that there is really very strong feeling in the district of Manbhum and the majority of the people there want to remain with Bihar and they also say that they have been so long suppressed. Whether this represents the correct state of things or not, I cannot vouchsafe. It was this apparent contradiction between what the evidence of written records could

indicate and what the wishes of the people are that induced me to suggest a plebiscite which after all will give a chance to everybody to express his views. But that is being objected to. There is no suggestion, however, what the Commission could do if it was faced with this conflict of evidence. However, we can consider all these when the matter comes up before the Working Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. P.C. Ghosh
6 Suren Tagore Road
Ballygunge, Calcutta.

38. *To Jugal Kishore*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
The 13th August 1948

My dear Jugal Kishoreji,

I have received your telegram regarding Seth Gobind Das's report. He has sent me the report here directly. I have gone through it but as desired by you I am awaiting your letter.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Acharya Jugal Kishoreji
General Secretary, A.I.C.C.
New Delhi.

39. *From Jugal Kishore*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref: P-4/4634

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
13 August 1948

Respected Babuji,
The elections of the West Bengal P.C.C. were held on the 6th August and Dr.

Suresh Chandra Banerjee has been elected President and Syt. Atulya Ghosh, Secretary. Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose presided over the meeting and was himself a candidate. He was defeated by 19 votes. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee's name was proposed by Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh and that of Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose by Shri Kiran Sankar Roy. After the President's election was over, those of the Opposition walked out and did not take any part in any of the elections except that for the A.I.C.C. members.

A representation has been received from the members of the Opposition, a copy of which I am enclosing, disputing the validity of the election on the ground that the instructions of the A.I.C.C. office regarding voting by secret ballot in case of contest was not followed and there were other irregularities regarding the counting and regarding admission to the meeting.

I have also received a letter from Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose giving a report of the proceedings of the meeting. I am sending a copy signed by Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose with a covering letter from him.*

The dispute is now mainly regarding the question of procedure followed in the matter of voting. At no time before the actual counting by show of hands took place, was the question raised by any member. It was when the trend of voting was known and the first counting was completed that the question was raised.

Though technically the procedure adopted was against the instructions of the A.I.C.C. office, the point raised for your decision is whether the election should be declared invalid. Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose, one of the candidates, was presiding and he should have either given his ruling or insisted upon voting by secret ballot.

Both Shankarraoji and myself are of opinion that the objection is too technical and has been made after the voting had taken place and therefore it would not be advisable to invalidate the election on that ground alone.

That is only our suggestion after discussing the matter. We would like to discuss this matter with you in case you think that the technical objection cannot be overlooked without further examination of this and other points.

I am enclosing a copy of the representation received from Syt. Kalipada Mookerji and of a telegram received from the members.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jugal Kishore
General Secretary

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Chandra Bhawan, Pilani
Jaipur State.

*See enclosure to Surendra Mohan Ghose's letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 11 August 1948.

Enclosure 1:

(Copy of representation from Kalipada Mookerji, addressed to the General Secretary, A.I.C.C.)

BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Calcutta
August 9, 1948

Dear Friend,

I beg to send herewith a brief report of the first meeting of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee which was held on Friday the 6th August at 9 a.m. at Kumar Singh Hall, 46 Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta. Due notices were sent to individual delegates along with the agenda of the meeting to their respective addresses. Notice was also published in almost all the Calcutta dailies for a number of days. The meeting was presided over by the outgoing President Sri Surendra Mohan Ghose and was attended by 334 delegates who had duly filled in their Effective Membership forms.

Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen proposed the name of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee for the presidentship which was seconded by Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh. A counter-proposal was made by Sri Sushil Chatterjee (West Dinajpur) proposing the name of Sri Surendra Mohan Ghose as President of West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee which was seconded by Sri Kiran Sankar Roy. The House then divided on the proposals in two sections. The President of the meeting then appointed Sri Nikunja Behari Maity (Relief Minister) and Sri J.C. Maitra, Barrat-law, as tellers to count the votes. The result of the counting of votes by division revealed that Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee had obtained 175 votes while Sri Surendra Mohan Ghose secured 156 votes. The result of the decision was duly announced by the President, Sri Surendra Mohan Ghose. There was a demand from a particular section that the votes should be counted by names of the members present at the meeting. When this method was being followed and the members were asked to stand up in their respective blocks and each to declare as to whom he was voting for, there were some excitement and uproar from a particular section. The situation soon became so tense that the President of the meeting had to stop this procedure and announced the result of the voting on the basis of the first counting by division. The second method which could not be finished owing to the circumstances already stated, disclosed that 168 votes were recorded in favour of Dr. Banerjee and 140 for Sri Surendra Mohan Ghose. At this stage, a point of order was raised by some members that the meeting could not be proceeded with, but the President ruled that the meeting was in order and directed that the election of other office-bearers and the members of the Executive Council should be proceeded with. Accordingly, on the motion of Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen, seconded by Dr. Nripendra Nath Bose, the following

persons were duly elected as office-bearers of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for the year 1948:

Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee	President
Sri Kalipada Mookerji	Vice-President
Sri Sashadhar Kar	Vice-President
Sri Charu Chandra Bhandari	Vice-President
Sri Bijoy Krishna Bhattacharji	Vice-President
Sri Sudhir Chandra Roy Choudhury	Vice-President
Sri Atulya Ghosh	Secretary
Sri Nripendra Nath Bose	Asstt. Secretary
Sri Narendra Nath Sen	Asstt. Secretary
Sri Deven Sen	Asstt. Secretary
Sri Iswar Chandra Mal	Asstt. Secretary
Sri Durgapada Chatterji	Asstt. Secretary
Sri Bijoy Singh Nahar	Treasurer

Besides the office-bearers, 92 members of the Executive Council were duly elected at the meeting. As there was great excitement in the meeting due to the sharp differences of opinion amongst the delegates, the other two items in the agenda, viz., formation of the Election Tribunal and the appointment of the Credentials Committee could not be disposed of. The President then postponed the consideration of those two items and opined that they should be referred to the Congress Working Committee in accordance with the recent directive of the A.I.C.C. The meeting was then adjourned till 3 p.m. for the election of the members of the A.I.C.C. Sri Surendra Mohan Ghose, the outgoing President, acted as the Returning Officer. The following is the list of 47 candidates* who have been duly elected on the basis of single transferable secret ballot votes as per the A.I.C.C. constitution.

Yours sincerely,
 Kalipada Mookerji
 Outgoing Secretary, B.P.C.C.

The General Secretary
 All India Congress Committee
 7 Jantar Mantar Road
 New Delhi.

*Not included.

Enclosure 2:

(Copy of telegram from members of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee)

Calcutta

PRESIDENT AICC

NEW DELHI

CONTEST IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION STOP DRAWN ATTENTION TO YOUR CIRCULAR OF SIXTH JUNE STOP DEMAND VOTING BY SECRET BALLOT STOP OPEN BALLOT HELD STOP WE ONE HUNDRED SIXTYEIGHT WITHDRAWN STOP DID NOT JOIN IN SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS STOP ATTENDANCE REGISTER SHOWS DOUBLE ENTRIES OF SOME MEMBERS STOP VOTING ALSO VITIATED BY FALSE IMPERSONATION STOP PRAY SET ASIDE THE ELECTIONS AND FORMATION OF THE PCC AND ORDER FRESH ELECTION UNDER AICC SUPERVISION WITH SECRET BALLOT STOP PRATAPGUHARAI ARUNGUHA AMARGHOSH ARUNBANERJI SUSIL BANERJEE SUDHIRPAL KALABARANGHOSH JAGANNATH MAZUMDAR SURESDAS DURGASINGHA FAKIRRAI DASARATHI CHOWDHURY SACHINKAR

40. *To Shankarao Deo*

Camp: Pilani
The 13th August 1948

My dear Shankaraoji,

I have received your letter about the candidates to be set up on behalf of the Praja Mandal in Cochin for election to the Legislature there. It is true that we are now responsible for running the election in the States and it is also true that Cochin is one of those areas where the organisation of the Praja Mandal has, I believe, 'been more or less on the same lines as of the Congress. But unfortunately we in the Working Committee of the Congress have had so little to do with the State Praja Mandals that the workers who have been running the organisations are not known, at any rate, to me. This is also the first time that an application like this has come from a State Praja Mandal. I would not, therefore, like to take the responsibility on my shoulders. You may convene a meeting of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee at as early a date as possible and put this letter up for its decision. If they like they may give the authority to me, to you, or to such member of the Parliamentary Board as may like to deal with applications from the Praja Mandals. After that our actions will be perfectly in order. This need not take long and you may call a meeting at a short notice. Such members as are in Delhi may

attend and thereafter, when the authority is delegated, we could deal with such applications.

I am returning the papers.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri Shankarrao Deo
General Secretary, A.I.C.C.
New Delhi.

41. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur
13th August 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am enclosing copy of a letter from Master Tara Singh and my proposed reply. If you approve, you may have the reply letter posted which I am sending duly signed. If not, you may make such corrections as you think necessary and send me the amended draft which I shall post to Master Tara Singh.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister, India
1 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

Enclosures not included.

42. *To K.M. Panikkar*

Camp: Pilani.
Jaipur State
August 14, 1948

My dear Sardar Panikkar,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 28th July 1948. I am asking the Sevagram people who are engaged in the kind of work which the China Welfare

Fund proposes to start in China to collect the literature and send the same on to you. I hope you will get them at an early date.

I am writing to Dr. Anna Wang separately.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

H.E. Sardar K.M. Panikkar
Indian Ambassador in China
Nanking, China.

43. To Aryanayakam

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 14, 1948

My dear Aryanayakam,

I have received a letter from Syt. Panikkar, our Ambassador in Nanking, enclosing a copy of a letter from the Secretary of the China Welfare Fund of which Madame Sun Yat Sen is the Chairman. They propose to start work about rural education at their centre near Shanghai. They are very keen on commemorating Gandhiji's name by carrying on some works in conformity with his teachings and the Society is very keen on getting literatures in English on rural organisations. They are particularly interested in Gandhiji's ideas regarding the rural institutions. I shall be obliged if you will kindly collect relevant literatures which may be useful to the Society in running their rural institutions which may become life-centre of Gandhiji's teachings in China and send the same on to our Ambassador in China, Sardar K.M. Panikkar, with a request that the same may be handed over to Dr. Anna Wang and inform me that you have done so. Perhaps you may consult Syt. Kumarappa, if he is there, or some of the colleagues of the Village Industries Association and Kishorelalbhai in making the selection.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Syt. Aryanayakam
Hindustani Talimi Sangh
Sevagram.

44. To Dr. Anna Wang

Camp: Pilani
 Jaipur State (India)
 August 14, 1948

Dear Dr. Anna Wang,

Sardar K.M. Panikkar, our Ambassador in China, has written to me enclosing a copy of your letter addressed to him dated the 22nd July. I am collecting the literatures dealing with Mahatma Gandhi's rural works, specially rural education, and the same will be forwarded to you, I hope, at an early date.

I need hardly say how happy we feel that you in China are trying to establish a centre which will take up works of the kind in which Mahatma Gandhi was deeply interested. Mahatma Gandhi's teachings are not for one country or for one people. They are for humanity at large and I hope that the centre which you propose to open for rural work will be a centre for spreading Gandhiji's doctrines in China. China and India have had so much in common in the past that this additional link in our friendly and happy relations will, I have no doubt, be another binding force between the two countries.

Yours sincerely,
 Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Anna Wang.

45. From Shankarrao Deo

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref. G-2/4669

7 Jantar Mantar Road
 New Delhi
 14 August 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

I am writing this letter to you specially because I would like to know what are your personal views regarding the attitude Congress Committees and Congressmen should take on the question of formation of linguistic Provinces. You know that since more than one year I have been closely associating myself with the movement of the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra. I may tell you that if I had not taken up this problem in my hand the movement for Samyukta Maharashtra would not have reached that development which it has reached

today. We Congressmen in Maharashtra had kept aloof from the movement of Samyukta Maharashtra so long because we felt that the time for taking up this question will come only when India becomes free. So I entered into this movement only in 1946-47 when I thought that the question of framing the Constitution of Free India was an immediate task before the country and the Congress.

The Congress has accepted the principle of linguistic Provinces since 1920, if not earlier, when it introduced it in its own constitution as the basis for forming of Provinces for Congress purposes and everybody had taken for granted that when the proper time came, Congress would take up the matter in its own hand and form administrative Provinces on linguistic basis. In its election manifesto of 1946 the Congress has reiterated its faith in this principle and promised that one of its tasks will be to form regional units on linguistic and cultural basis in order to give full scope to the people residing in that region for their self-development. It seems that the division of India, and the tragic events following it, have at least for the present substantially changed the views of some of the leading Congressmen in this matter, and today if they are not totally turned against this principle at least they want this question to be postponed for some years to come. I am one of those who still believe that formation of Provinces on linguistic and other considerations instead of weakening will strengthen the Union. After all the fulfilment of the expectation from freedom, namely, scope and opportunity of self-development according to their genius, will give people contentment and the strength born out of it. This contentment and this strength will go to strengthen the ties of loyalty towards the Centre; but I do not want to go, for the present, into the merits or demerits of this question, for you in your capacity as the President of the Constituent Assembly have appointed a Commission to go into this question. It may now be taken for granted that the Constituent Assembly and the Congress have realised the necessity of giving immediate execution to this principle. The knowledge that this will have to be done in the immediate future really made me associate closely with this movement. At the same time I must admit that since I became the General Secretary of the Congress I was feeling the difficulty of so closely associating with this movement, not on principle or its general implementation, but with the formation of a particular Province. I knew that there was a possibility of myself unconsciously making use of my position in the Congress to help this other work or the general public might misunderstand it. So I always was very careful and when once I was asked the direct question whether, when I said that Bombay should be included in Maharashtra, it was in the capacity of the General Secretary of the Congress, I said no. As the time for solution of this problem was coming nearer and the movement was assuming more serious aspect I myself was thinking that my close association with the movement was not only undesirable but on the other hand it may harm it. I told my colleagues so and was preparing them for this.

So, when on my return from Nagpur, on the 24th of last month, I received your letter in this connection it did not surprise me but on the contrary, if I may say so,

I was anticipating some such thing. So no time was required for me to consider the matter and I immediately told you that I entirely agree with what you have said in the letter. Still there are one or two things I would like to be enlightened by you for my future action as well as for other Congressmen in those areas where the formation of Provinces on linguistic basis is a live and immediate issue. Now that you have appointed the Commission, of course Congress Committees or Congressmen are entitled to take active part, express their opinion on the subject or work for it either in favour or against according to their views. Still, I would like to know for my guidance whether, if I am called by the Commission to give evidence before it, I should do it, because there is every possibility of the Commission doing so as I am so closely associated with the movement of Samyukta Maharashtra. Besides, I am the President of the Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad. I would like to know your view on the matter. As for other Congressmen I would like to know your view on the following point.

If there is unanimity on this question amongst Congressmen in a particular Committee, the question will not arise; but if there is difference of opinion between them, then what attitude should they adopt individually? The most critical position would be in Bombay. You know that the demand of Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad is that Bombay should be included in Samyukta Maharashtra as it naturally belongs to that Province. I think the overwhelming majority of Maharashtra, either in Bombay or outside, will be in favour of this proposal but the condition of Congressmen in Bombay is very peculiar because the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee is composed of members of different communities in Bombay and there is no possibility of unanimity on this issue. Same would be the case in the Congress Party in the Bombay Corporation. Now in these circumstances one would have liked that this issue was not brought before the Bombay P.C.C. or the Bombay Corporation and the division between Congressmen avoided, for such a division is bound to lead to some undesirable results which every Congressman, whatever his view on this problem may be, should avoid. But I learn that Bombay Government, perhaps on the request of the Commission, has asked for the opinion of the Bombay P.C.C. and of the Bombay Corporation on this matter and it may come soon before these bodies. I may also tell you for your information that there is a proposal of holding a Conference in Bombay of those who believe that Samyukta Maharashtra including Bombay should be formed and some leading Congressmen, both in the Congress and the Corporation, are actively working for it. Are they right in doing so, especially when they do not involve the Congress Committee or the Party as such in this activity of theirs?

I would also like to know your view on the attitude the Commission appointed by you should take while doing their work. I had no opportunity to speak with you on this matter and therefore I don't know what exactly you think about this matter. It is said that this is a judicial Commission and in one sense it must be so. But if by judicial it is meant that it will act like the judges in the Court, that is, giving their decisions only on the evidence produced before them or on the facts which

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hope to hear from you in reply to it in due course. I would very much like to receive from you even a short note, telling me that you are now better, so that I may feel relieved of anxiety. I am fairly well at present.

This morning I have lighted upon the cutting enclosed herewith from *The Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta. In view of the fact that this matter has become a downright nuisance, I am sending herewith a formal communication. I am also keeping a copy of it so that, if and when necessary, I may be able to communicate it to the Press.

With my blessings and good wishes.

I remain,
Ever yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

Enclosures not included.

47. From Dr. K.N. Katju

Government House
Calcutta
15th August 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

I have been thinking of writing to you for many days but then I read in the newspapers about your indisposition and I did not want to trouble you. I do hope that you will find the change of air at Pilani healthful and restful, and that you have now regained your normal health. I shall look forward with very keen anticipation to your visiting Calcutta so that I may have the privilege of welcoming you and persuading you to put up with me.

I have just read in *The Hindu* newspaper a news item from Delhi that you have written to Jawaharlalji very strongly recommending that the consideration of the Hindu Code Bill should be postponed till after the new legislature has been elected. If I may say so with respect, that is a view which, I am sure, will find general acceptance in the country. It may be that the orthodox opinion does not find adequate opportunity for expression in the daily Press, but the mere fact that the newspapers are generally inclined to propagate what they consider progressive views in these matters does not negative the existence of a very substantial volume of opinion to the contrary in the country. In my opinion any drastic change in the structure of Hindu society will cause great resentment and great discontent, and this is not the time to multiply or accentuate differences.

Your directive about the relationship between the district Government officials on the one hand and the Congress workers on the other should prove helpful, though I should like to add that your suggestion about some liaison at the higher level requires further clarification.

Rainfall in Bengal this year has been rather uneven. At any rate, it has not been excessive anywhere, and I have at times wondered how did the clouds which seemed to have burst with such vigour in Benares and Allahabad manage to pass over Bengal without having been intercepted by anybody—the wind or the sun.

I imagine that you will be returning to Delhi sometime next month.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

K.N. Katju
Governor, West Bengal

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Pilani.

48. *From Mira Behn*

Ashram, Pashulok
P.O. Rishikesh, District Dehra Dun
August 17, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

When I wrote to you about offering to go out for a collection tour, my health was distinctly better, but unfortunately it has become bad again, and I am afraid it is no use my attempting to undertake the strain involved in such a tour. I am really very sorry, but it is no good attempting the impossible.

If you are in Delhi in the first week of September when I come to see Rajaji and others, I will come to see you, as there are certain things in my mind about the Memorial Fund, which I would like to discuss with you.

Yours affectionately,
Mira Behn

Babu Rajendra Prasad
C/o Birla House, Pilani
Jaipur State.

49. *To P. Chakraverty*

Camp: Pilani
The 17th August 1948

Dear Mr. Chakraverty,

The other day I sent you a letter from Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao of Bezwada. Here

53. *From J.M. Kumarappa*

TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Byculla, Bombay
18 August 1948

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I am writing to thank you for your letter of August the 12th.

I am sorry you have not been keeping good health, but I hope by now you have regained your normal health.

It is very kind of you indeed to bear in mind our suggestion that the session of the Indian National Congress may be held before the middle of December to enable such members of the Congress as are participating in the Indian Conference of Social Work to be held in Madras from December the 18th to the 22nd, 1948, to attend the deliberations.

Thanking you once again and with kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,
J.M. Kumarappa
Vice-President
Indian Conference of Social WorkDr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
Camp: Pilani P.O., Jaipur State.54. *From P. Chakraverti*

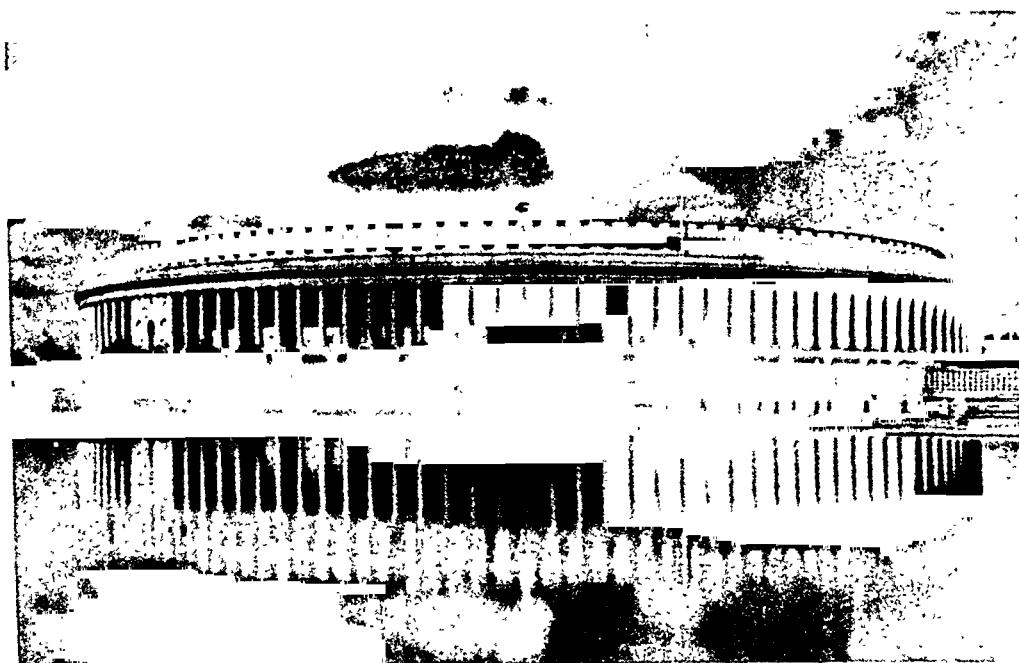
ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref: G-1/4751

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
18 August 1948

Poojya Babuji,

Shri Shankarrao Deo addressed a circular to the Prime Ministers of States and Presidents of Regional Councils on 9th July 1948 and in continuation of the same he has addressed a fresh letter to them on the 16th August 1948. Shri Shankarrao Deo is of opinion that in the interest of public cause it may be released to the Press. He wants to seek your opinion as to the advisability of giving publication



The Parliament of India



Sarojini Naidu

to the last but one paragraph which points out that "In case of formation of Ministries or any change in the Ministry, the President is consulted by the Leader of the Congress Party before he makes his final choice." On the receipt of your advice we shall do the needful.

We have received today the enclosed wires from Nagpur and Vidarbha P.C.C.s, in reply to which Shri Shankarrao Deo has sent the enclosed wire to the Minister, Local Self-Government, Nagpur.

We have received a number of telegrams from the Zamindars of Bihar, a few copies of which are sent herewith.

Yours sincerely,
P. Chakraverti

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Pilani.

Enclosures not included.

55. From Shankarrao Deo

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref: P-32/4755

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
18 August 1948

Dear Rajen Babu,

According to your instructions I invited the members of the Parliamentary Board present in Delhi. Sardar, Maulana, Dr. Pattabhi and myself met and considered the matter. The main contention was that as this was the first time we were fighting the election in the State, it was necessary that a regular procedure should be followed, viz., going into the merits of each individual's case and giving opportunity to those whose applications have been rejected to make appeal to the Parliamentary Board if they so choose. As this could not be done, it was thought that the Board should not give its formal consent to the list sent by the Cochin Praja Mandal. Still every one of us felt that some sort of support from the Congress was necessary, otherwise the opponents of the State Praja Mandal will take undue advantage of the absence of any approval or backing by the Congress to the Cochin State Praja Mandal candidates, and thus the Cochin Praja Mandal

would suffer. Some sort of message giving support in general terms either from you or Sardar was thought necessary. Sardar had promised to consider the matter. As myself and Jugal Kishore are coming to Pilani on the 21st, we will have a talk about it and decide what to do.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

56. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
20 August 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

I am sending herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from Ghanshyamdas about the nomination of trustees from industry, trade and commerce on the Board of Trustees of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. I think his suggestions are eminently reasonable. The persons suggested by him can represent industry, trade and commerce cumulatively, and it seems unnecessary to split the representation. I would, therefore, advise you that we accept his suggestions regarding the nomination.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Camp: Pilani, Jaipur State.

Enclosure not included.

57. *To Dr. K.N. Katju*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 21, 1948

My dear Dr. Katju,

Please accept my thanks for your letter dated the 15th August 1948. I came here with a view to regaining my health in the dry climate of this place but

unfortunately for me Pilani this year has been as cloudy and wet as any other place and I have not had yet the anticipated benefit. But this is somewhat unusual for this place and I am hoping it will soon clear up.

I have written to Panditji about the Hindu Code and have, in fact, suggested that the same should not be taken up by the present Constituent Assembly acting as legislature because this Assembly is only a sort of makeshift arrangement for a legislature whose place it has taken and further because the question of introducing such far-reaching changes in the personal laws of the Hindus was never placed before the electorate. I have suggested to him that the Assembly will be taking a grave responsibility upon itself if it proceeds through a Bill of this nature for which there is no sanction behind it. Such opinion as the Committee, on the basis of whose recommendations the Bill is drafted, recorded is, I am told, overwhelmingly against the proposals and we should not disturb the personal laws of the community without giving that community an opportunity to express itself through a general election. I have, therefore, suggested that the matter should be held over and, if necessary, this item might be included in the next general election manifesto and then taken up by the Assembly. I have written as strongly as I could but I do not know what the Assembly would do. I have written a separate letter explaining my viewpoint which I have requested the Leader of the Party to read out at a Party meeting when this question arises. I could not have done more. My feeling is strong that we should not launch upon this kind of legislation in this present makeshift Assembly.

I have received complaints of interference by individual Congressmen with officers. I have also received complaints against officers not doing their duty properly. I therefore felt that it was necessary to regulate this and I therefore suggested that there should be no direct approach between individual Congressmen and individual officers. That demoralises both, the Congressman and the officer. Any grievance which Congressmen might feel against any particular officer should be taken up by the head of the Provincial Committee with the Ministry and in order that there might be complete understanding some sort of liaison should be established. I have followed up that letter, which perhaps you have seen because I sent copies of it to the Prime Ministers also, with another letter to Presidents of Provincial Committees in which I have given specific instances where interference is alleged. These fall under two categories, namely, interference with the ordinary police administration, as, for example, by Congressmen interesting themselves in particular cases under investigation and thus being parties to arrest or release of individuals or influencing the course of investigation. The other matter in which interference is alleged is by way of recommendation in favour of individuals for permits for controlled goods, licences for running motor transport and licences for other matters. I have asked the Provincial Congress Committees to see to it that individual Congressmen should not interest themselves in these matters and requested them to send me reports. I do not know what the reaction of Congressmen to these will be. I felt, however, that this was necessary and our Prime Minister also has written to me

suggesting that some such action should be taken but I had anticipated his suggestion and had taken steps as above mentioned before I got his letter. There is one reaction to my first letter which I did not anticipate. Some people, it seems, have taken it as creating a kind of an agency for influencing Government action and I have seen comments in newspapers criticising why the Ministry should have this kind of relationship with one party only when there may be other parties also in the country. There is complete misunderstanding of the position and if I remember aright, I said in that bulletin that there may be similar liaison with other organisations but what I meant was not so much control over the Ministries as control over unauthorised activity of Congressmen.

I am afraid there is no immediate prospect of my coming to Bengal but, when I do come, I would naturally meet you when we shall be able to exchange our thoughts and experiences. My stay here is still indefinite but I am here certainly till sometime late in September.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

H.E. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju
Governor of West Bengal
Government House
Calcutta.

58. *To Dr. Gopichand Bhargava*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 21, 1948

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

I have received a letter from Master Tara Singhji complaining that Sikhs are being ousted from all services gradually from East Punjab. On the other hand, I have written to you before that I have received complaints from the Hindus that they are being ousted by the Sikhs. I think the best course would be to get a statement prepared showing the position of the Hindus and Sikhs in the services in the East Punjab. If a comparative statement showing the position before the 15th of August 1947 and since then under the new regime giving separately the figures of new appointments from each community could be prepared that will be the best answer to criticisms from both the sides. If you agree, I shall be obliged if you get this prepared. If, as a result of preparation of this statement, you find that

any injustice is being done to any community it might also help you to set things right.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Prime Minister, East Punjab
Simla.

59. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
21st August 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

I am sending herewith a copy of the letter which I have received from Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and its enclosures. I should be grateful if you would kindly let me have your views on the request made. He is anxious to have early decision in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Pilani.

Enclosures:

(Copy of letter from Hirday Nath Kunzru to Vallabhbhai Patel dated the 14th August 1948)

I hope you remember that I spoke to you last month about the Kashmiri Pandits who suffered heavily at the hands of the raiders and had to leave their villages in order to save their lives and asked you for assistance in regard to the marriages of their grown-up girls and the provision of cloth for them. In accordance with your suggestion I wrote to the President of the Kashmir Samaj Sudhar Samiti, Pt. Gopi Krishna. I enclose his reply* which was prepared by him in consultation with the Chairman of the Refugee Relief Committee of the Samiti, Shri Ram Chandra Pandit, ex-Principal of the Sri Pratap College, Srinagar. I had the advantage of discussing with them their estimate of the funds required by them when I visited Kashmir about ten days ago.

When I met you last month I thought that the marriages would cost about Rs.

50,000 and cloth the same sum or a little more. It now appears, however, that while the marriages would cost appreciably less than Rs.50,000, cloth will cost much more as the refugees need not only cotton clothing but also warm clothing. The estimated expenditure on marriages and cloth totals up to about Rupees one lakh and eighty-five thousand. The sum is undoubtedly large but you will see that the scale of the proposed expenditure on both these items is very modest.

I shall see you soon in order to discuss the matter personally with you. I can think of no one but you who can help the refugees in their sad plight.

*Not included.

(Copy of letter dated the 18th August 1948 from Hirday Nath Kunzru to Vallabhbhai Patel)

I was surprised to learn from you yesterday that the letter which I sent you dated the 14th August, regarding the relief required for the Hindu refugees in Kashmir did not contain the letter of Pandit Gopi Krishna, President of the Kashmir Samaj Sudhar Samiti, on the subject. I put the letter in the envelope myself. How it disappeared from the envelope, I am unable to understand. I enclose, however, a copy of the above-mentioned letter.* I shall be glad to discuss it with you whenever it is convenient to you.

*Not included.

60. To Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 21, 1948

My dear Sir,

I have received your letter dated the 14th August 1948, together with the cuttings and your formal letter to me as President of the Constituent Assembly. I have not yet received any memorandum from any member of the Constituent Assembly urging that the terms of reference of the Linguistic Provinces Commission should be extended to include in the enquiry as to what areas of the present Province of Bihar should be brought in the new Province of West Bengal. I am keeping your letter, however, for use if any occasion arises. I do not think any occasion for its use will arise but I am keeping it.

I got your other letter also the other day. I sent you the draft of the brochure which you have prepared about the Bengal-Bihar boundary controversy with just a few suggestions. I hope they must have reached you because it was about a week ago that they were posted.

The note of the *Indian Nation* about my circular regarding liaison between

61. From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

Sinha Library Road
 Post Box No. 62, G.P.O.
 Patna
 The 21st August 1948

My dear Rajendra,

I owe you an apology for having delayed till now in replying to your exceedingly kind and affectionate letter of the 9th, in reply to my several communications to you on various subjects. But you have more than made up for your silence by sending me an exhaustive reply on the various points I had written to you about. That you should have done so while not enjoying good health is all the more gratifying to me, and makes me beholden to you for your great kindness which, believe me, I highly appreciate. I note that the climate of Pilani this year is more humid than it usually is. But nevertheless it must be drier compared with that of Delhi, and now that you have been there for nearly three weeks, I hope to hear from you in reply to this letter that you are very much better. If the news published in the papers be at all correct, that in view of the recent changes in the Government of India, you may have again to take up some work as a Member of the Cabinet, it is all the more necessary that you should return to Delhi fully restored to your normal health, so that you may be able to cope with both the work of the Constituent Assembly and the particular Ministry that may be assigned to you. You will kindly let me know the exact or the approximate date of your return to Delhi, as soon as you have been able to fix it up.

As you have taken so much interest in the Memorandum, and sent me such valuable suggestions for its improvement, I make no apology for sending you copy of a note which I have posted today to Ranchi to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister, the Revenue Minister, and the Chief Secretary. If you would care to go through it, you will realise the very arduous work that I have had to do in connection with the preparation of the Memorandum, working practically singly by myself without any assistance worth the name from anybody. As regards your suggestions, I need hardly say that I have made all the corrections and changes pointed out by you, and, I am sure, the Memorandum is all the better for it. I may also explain to you that it is not possible to carry out your suggestion to print, by way of Appendices, the large number of letters, out of which relevant passages have been extracted in the various chapters. That is due to the fact that the official communications utilised by me covered many points in them, in which all the others (except that quoted by me) have no bearing on the point at issue. I have thought it necessary to explain this to you, in view of your very kind interest in the Memorandum. For the rest, I am happy that it has met with your approval.

In this connection, I would like to seek your advice and guidance on another point connected with it. I do not think that except Krishna Ballabh, and possibly

the Prime Minister, any other Member of the Bihar Cabinet would carefully go through the Memorandum as a whole. But they are discussing, I understand, whether the Memorandum should be published as a Government publication, or over my own name. I am averse to printing it over my own name, not because I am not prepared to do so, but because I feel that it will carry very much more weight if it appears to be a Memorandum issued on behalf of the Government of Bihar, and not a statement of any particular individual, be he whoever he may. I would like you to consider this question carefully, and let me know your view in the matter. I hope you will agree with me that the Memorandum should be issued as a Government paper.

I hope to hear from you, in due course, as to what action you have taken in regard to the numerous representations made to you by West Bengal representatives on the question of the expansion of the scope of the work of the Linguistic Provinces Committee already constituted by you. Not that I have the least doubt in my mind as to what you will do; but I would like to have definite information that you have not accepted their suggestion. If so, you will throw into the waste-paper-basket the suggestions I sent you in regard to Bihar's claim on West Bengal and the United Provinces.

Since my return to Patna, just one month back, from Ranchi, I have been improving slowly, and I am now in better health than I was there. But what with indifferent health, and more than that, this wretched Memorandum business, I could not make up my mind to go to Delhi for the present Parliamentary session. I look forward with great pleasure to attend the next session of the Constituent Assembly which, I understand, will be held in the third or the fourth week of October.

Lastly, I am enclosing herewith a letter from Brajeshwar Prasad of Gaya, who is a Member of the Constituent Assembly. I have no doubt you know him well enough, and he is also well known to the Bihar Government as he was perhaps the only non-member of the Bihar Assembly who was returned with Congress votes to the Constituent Assembly. I do not know what truth there is in the report which he has got, that appointments are going to be made of Parliamentary Secretaries; but I have promised to send his letter to you, and I am doing so accordingly. You are in a far better position to judge of his qualifications than I can be, for I met him for the first time at Delhi in March last. But my own impression is that the most prominent Bihari in the Delhi Assembly at present is our friend Satyanarayan Sinha, and it is not likely that his claims will be passed over for any suitable job.

I fear I have inflicted upon you a very long letter for which, I am sure, you will kindly excuse me.

Hoping to hear from you and trusting all well, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

Enclosure I:

(Copy of a note from Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha to Sri Krishna Sinha)

Hon'ble the Prime Minister,

When I was privileged to meet you for a few minutes at your house, I learnt from you that you were going to Ranchi by the same evening's train, and I naturally, therefore, did not like to take up much of your valuable time, which I might have felt justified in doing, had you not been leaving Patna the same evening. But I have thought it proper that I should place before you, as briefly as I can, the salient facts in connection with the Bengal-Bihar Memorandum, so that you may be able to take such action as you may deem fit and proper, and also as soon as it may be convenient for you to do so.

In the letter I had received from Mr. Pillai, in May last, on the subject of preparing a memorandum, I was assured of the assistance to be rendered to me, not only by Pandit Ram Sharan Sharma, who had been placed on deputation till the 16th of August, but also of the valuable cooperation of Pandit Ramsinghasan Pandey, now Deputy Secretary of the Political Department. Very unfortunately for me, however, the Deputy Secretary had to go to other places in connection with his official work, and, not long after my arrival, he went on leave from which he had not returned until I left Ranchi on the 20th of July. I have thus been deprived of the privilege of the cooperation of the Deputy Secretary of the Political Department.

Pandit Ram Sharan Sharma returned with me to Patna on the 21st July, and continued to give me assistance until about ten days back when I received a letter from the Chief Secretary asking me to send him immediately to Ranchi, which I did. He had not returned to work on my staff when his deputation expired on the 16th August, and, as will appear from a copy of the letter of the Principal of the Patna College to the Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, Pandit Ram Sharan Sharma had not joined the college staff either till the 17th or the 18th of August. I have received no communication from the Political Department till now giving me any information about the movements of Pandit Ram Sharan Sharma, although I had moved the Department to get Pandit Ram Sharan Sharma's services on deputation extended till the 31st of August. The result of his absence has been that I have had to go through, in my 77th year and with my weak eye-sight, the proofs of the entire Memorandum extending to about 65 pages. I think I am entitled to appeal to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister to take the question of my physical infirmity into his consideration, and to give me what relief he can until the work is completely finished.

II

On the 18th July, I formally submitted a copy of the Memorandum to the Chief Secretary at Ranchi. On the 19th July, at the tea party given by me at the

B.N.R. Hotel, at which the Hon'ble the Prime Minister was the guest of honour, I called the Chief Secretary to take the Hon'ble the Prime Minister's instructions in regard to the Memorandum. The Hon'ble the Prime Minister instructed him that at the meeting of the Cabinet the next day (the 20th July), the matter of the Memorandum was to be put up for discussion and consideration. But I learnt on my arrival here that it could not be taken up on that date.

After my return to Patna I had a talk with the Hon'ble the Revenue Minister who asked me to send the Memorandum to the Press so that, once put into type, the proofs of it could be easily circulated to the Hon'ble Ministers, who would find it more convenient to go through it in proofs, rather than in typescript. Accordingly, the Memorandum was sent by me to the Press, and the proofs of it have been sent to me by the Government Press, some days back. On receipt of the proofs, I requested Pandit Ram Sharan Sharma to circulate the copies to the Hon'ble Ministers, and he told me before he left for Ranchi that he had done so. I believe all the Hon'ble Ministers have received copies of the proofs, though it may be possible that one or other of them might not have received it, on account of absence on tour.

As regards going through the Memorandum, chapters of it were sent by me, from time to time, to the Hon'ble the Revenue Minister, and a complete set of it was also given by me to him at Ranchi. The Hon'ble Minister in returning the separate chapters conveyed to me his sense of appreciation of almost all of them, for which I am very grateful to him, but he thought that at one or two places I had put the case in a way which did not perhaps appeal to him. So far as I am aware, the only person who has carefully read the Memorandum *as a whole* is the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and in a letter dated the 9th August he writes to me (from Pilani) as follows: "I have read the Memorandum prepared by you and, if I may say so, the case could not have been better put, and more convincingly explained. There is hardly any comment which I need to offer." I can but hope that you and your Hon'ble colleagues may also find the Memorandum as satisfactory as had Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

III

I may be pardoned for saying that I am not quite sure that the Bihar Ministry are fully aware of the very strenuous propaganda which is being carried on, not only from day to day, but from hour to hour, by many of the leaders of West Bengal, not only in the Press and on the platform, but in various other sinister ways. As I am fully aware of them, I am anxious that the Memorandum should be published and widely circulated as soon as possible. But I have not the least desire to hustle the Bihar Government in a matter like this, if they do not think it necessary to do so. I may, however, add that, but for my anxiety to see the Memorandum through the press, and to complete all work in connection with it, I might have gone to Delhi to attend the present session of the Dominion Parliament. But I gave up that idea in my anxiety to see the Memorandum

completed and published. If, therefore, the Memorandum is not issued by the Government Press by the end of this month, or by the end of the first week of September at the latest, I may not be available at Patna to assist the Bihar Government in this matter. For these reasons I feel justified in approaching the Hon'ble the Prime Minister with the following requests:

- (a) That the question of the decision of the Cabinet should be expedited by the Memorandum being placed for the consideration of the Cabinet at an early date.
- (b) That if it be decided that the Memorandum be issued soon, necessary action should be taken in the matter by placing at my disposal the services of Pandit Ram Sharan Sharma as soon as possible.
- (c) That Babu Bhuvaneshwari Prasad, Reporter, Bihar Legislature, who is now working on my staff, is required to proceed to Ranchi on the 1st September to be in time for the next session of the Assembly, and another duly qualified stenographer should be sent up here to work with me from the 1st September onwards. One Shri Raghunath Prasad, a typist in the Chief Secretary's Department, was employed to assist me at Ranchi when I was there. He knows stenography also. If nobody else is available, and he can be spared, he may be sent here.
- (d) That the services of the two peons placed at my disposal should be continued until the work is finished, as they will be required to take the proofs to the press, from day to day, and to bring back corrected proofs for printing orders.

I feel I have inflicted upon the Hon'ble the Prime Minister a very long note for which I apologise in anticipation of his forgiving me for doing so, but I have felt justified in doing so as, I think, the matter is of sufficient urgency and importance. I hope to receive from the Hon'ble the Prime Minister a favourable response to my suggestions as soon as it may be convenient for him to do so.

Sachchidananda Sinha
20.8.48

(Copy of letter No. 2708, dated 18th August 1948, from the Principal of the Patna College to the Dy. Director of Public Instruction, Bihar)

Please refer to your memo. No. 5453/4A-44-48, dated the 29th June 1948, forwarding a copy of Notification No. 14203 dated 7th June 1948 of Government of Bihar in the Political Department.

The period of deputation of Mr. Ram Sharan Sharma, a lecturer in History in this college, to the Political Department expired on the 16th August 1948 and he was due to resume his duties in this college on the 17th August 1948. But he did not rejoin his duties on the 17th August, nor did I hear anything from him. I have

so far received no Government communication about further extension of his period of deputation. Orders of his extension, if any, may kindly be communicated to me at an early date. In the meantime the services of Mr. Bimla Prasad, who is officiating as a temporary lecturer vice Mr. Ram Sharan Sharma on deputation, have been retained pending return of Mr. Ram Sharan Sharma to his duties in the college.

Enclosure 2:

8 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
13 August 1948

(Letter from Brajeshwar Prasad to Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha)

My dear Sinha Sahib,

I am indebted to you for the very kind letter which you wrote to me during the month of April last. Parliamentary Secretaries are going to be appointed soon. Kindly write a letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad recommending my name for the above mentioned post. This will be a favour shown to me. I do not know how to thank you for the love and affection with which you treated me during the last session of the Assembly.

The climate here has cooled down. Kindly come here for a few days. Your presence in the Assembly adds lustre and dignity to it.

Pranams.

Yours sincerely,
Brajeshwar Prasad

62. *From B. Banerjee*

DELHI PROVINCIAL HINDU SABHA

Delhi Gate
Delhi
22 August 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

I am herewith sending to you, as the President of the Peace Committee, a copy of the resolution passed by the workers and office-bearers of the Delhi Provincial Hindu Sabha.

I am not concerned with the political aspect of the question. I want, for the moment, to impress upon you the effect of the continued detention of the

from the "Sind Separation" controversy, that is to say, creation of new Provinces with a view to create communal majority Provinces, the Communal Award, the Parity proposal and ultimately the demand for Pakistan; the Mahasabha has waged a relentless fight against deviating from the path of nationalism. The Hindu Mahasabha can, therefore, take a legitimate pride in that during the last 25 years the activities of the Mahasabha have been mainly aimed at preventing the strengthening of the forces of communalism and maintaining the flag of nationalism unsullied. In the midst of the struggle for independence, it was easy to malign or misinterpret the intentions and work of Hindu Mahasabha, but today the people realise keenly the void in the politics of the country that has been created by the decision of the Mahasabha to suspend political activities. The Constituent Assembly has now adopted all those principles for which the Hindu Mahasabha had fought, but only after India had been partitioned and its valuable territories had been converted into an Islamic communal state.

The consciousness that after the 15th of August 1947 the necessity of an organisation exclusively meant for defending Hindu interests against Muslim aggressiveness has disappeared and the Hindu Mahasabha should now organise itself on a positive programme of national reconstruction was brought home to us long before the tragic murder of Mahatma Gandhi, and it was in the month of September 1947 that the decision to reorient its policy was taken and if we today have proposed to throw open our doors to all communities, it is because of a genuine conviction that all political parties in Free India must be formed on non-communal lines and stand before the masses for support as the national party, with its membership open to all.

I may here recall that the Hindu Mahasabha was founded by revered leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Shraddhanand of hallowed memory, at a time when Moslem onslaughts in Malabar, Kohat, Saharanpur and in other places brought home to them the need for an organisation for safeguarding and defending Hindu interests, which they could not do as members of the Congress, because the Congress belonged to both Hindus and Muslims. From that time onward the aggression on the Hindus had gone on increasing with the tacit consent of our Congress leaders by virtue of their policy of appeasement. The members of the Hindu Mahasabha and of the Congress had worked together side by side without any differences till the year 1937, when the Congress adopted a resolution banning all members of communal organisations from becoming office-bearers of the Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha was thus shut out from Congress. Due to Congress intolerance the Hindu Mahasabha had to leave and forge ahead as a separate political party. Today many of the members who hold high positions in the Congress and who hold even ministerial positions in the Provinces as well as in the Centre, were once leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha. I need not go at length into the old history but it is enough if I say that the political background which impelled leaders like Pandit Malaviyaji to start the Hindu Mahasabha and organise it as a citadel against Moslem aggressiveness disappeared with the

quitting of the British and we now definitely feel that 28 crores of Hindus need not have any separate exclusive organisation of their own for such purposes.

People ask why Hindu Mahasabha is again returning to politics. Since the 15th of August 1947, and particularly since the suspension of our political activities, the attitude of the Congress, the dominant political party, towards the Mahasabha has been one of superciliousness and malicious misrepresentation and a campaign of slander has been carried on to create and strengthen prejudice in the public mind against the Mahasabha. Our workers are most anxious to serve the people in the political field and we cannot shut them out indefinitely from their right to serve according to their own light. The Mahasabha has a distinguished record of public service, and we cannot allow this great organisation to be throttled out of existence by such baseless campaign of lies and slander, coming from our political opponents.

Besides, the situation in the country has been such that the masses are longing for other political parties who might give a new lead to the country and rescue the masses from the mire into which the Congress administration had dragged them. Today communalism is not the only force that is operating in the country. In fact communalism has been a steadily diminishing factor in Indian politics and whatever communalism is there, is due to Hyderabad, Kashmir and Pakistan. The recent occurrences in Bombay and Agra leave no room for doubt that the flames of Pakistan are pretty fairly active within the Indian Union itself and no amount of denunciation or banning of communal organisations can prevent the embers of communalism from being kept alive in the country, nor can India escape from the tentacles of that hydra-headed monster which the Congress leaders themselves have created.

It is worth noting that since the Hindu Mahasabha suspended its political activities there has been progressive deterioration in the political situation of the country. The Congress Government has been pursuing a policy of ruthless suppression of civil liberties, the Press stands completely gagged, the liberty of the individual has been reduced to a mockery under the operation of the extraordinary Publ. Safety Measures. The citizen of Free India today is baulked of his basic rights to a degree unthinkable before. To add to this, the Congress leaders are now publicly demanding that the people have no right even to criticise the Congress Government, as it happens to be the National Government of India. This initiates a new policy of far-reaching implications and is a flagrant repudiation of all democratic principles.

In consequence of this totalitarian and monopolistic political ambition of the Congress, there is a steadily growing opposition to Congress administration throughout the country which has been further aggravated by misrule, maladministration and unprecedented corruption in every department of public administration. The Congress leaders defend their new policy on the plea of danger to internal peace and security, and necessity of meeting all subversive movements. Strangely enough, any opposition to the will of the ruling party, however constitutional it might be, is now being misrepresented as subversive

movements by the Congress Ministers in the Provinces and is being treated and punished as such. The people can never acquiesce in such a reactionary policy and it would be their patriotic duty to criticise and expose, and educate public opinion on the evils of such a fascist and anti-democratic policy.

The Congress Ministry has failed to tackle satisfactorily any of the problems that vitally affect the basic conditions of existence of the masses. There is continuously soaring prices of all essential necessities of life, causing unprecedented sufferings to the poverty-stricken masses, and considering that the Congress Ministries have been in power in the Provinces for over two years and a half, their incapacity has become quite manifest.

Besides, the attempt of the Congress Ministry to fashion the whole of this Indian subcontinent on a common uniform political pattern, when the need is of frankly recognising the various regional peculiarities and giving them adequate scope for self-development, has further added to the complexities of the situation. Again, the growing menace of provincialism threatens to disrupt the country. If communalism is bad, provincialism is worse. So far we have not witnessed any concrete action on the part of the Congress leaders to discourage this sinister menace and punish those guilty of spreading this insidious poison. Mere denunciatory speeches cannot be of any help. Is it because they happen to be mostly Congressmen and belong to the party in power?

Besides, in the field of labour, Government's bungling had led to the accentuation of the problem and aggravation of industrial unrest. The emergence of the Socialist Party as the sole opposition party in India is fraught with a greater menace to internal peace and security inasmuch as it will inevitably intensify class warfare, retard industrial production and national development and will ultimately strengthen the Communist element in the country. Having regard to the tradition and psychology of the Indian masses, a party based purely on economic programme cannot but prove detrimental, at this stage, to the interests of the nation.

In the face of such a difficult and intriguing situation, and in view of the steadily growing realisation that the Congress as a party is steadily losing hold over the masses, the country is ardently looking forward to an alternative political party that can give new lead to the people and create new hopes and aspirations for the alleviation of their manifold sufferings. An effective political opposition which will seek the confidence and support of the masses on the basis of a new political programme has, therefore, been a crying necessity.

The suspension of the political activities of the Hindu Mahasabha has not led to the desired result. It has neither brought about a better communal atmosphere nor has diminished the threat to national unity and security. It has only paved the way for the elimination of the only political opposition party that counted with the people, and the perpetuation of monopoly of power for the Congress party. We feel this is not in the interest of the country. The Hindu Mahasabha now proposes to organise itself on an entirely new basis on a positive programme of national reconstruction embracing all sections of people and consisting of all the

scattered political elements in the country.

Before I conclude, I would like to make an appeal to the Press. I feel that whatever justification there might have been for misrepresenting the aims and activities of the Hindu Mahasabha at a time when the country was struggling for emancipation from foreign yoke, there is none today when the foreigners have left, we have become free to mould our own destiny, and the need for educating the masses on correct lines has become so paramount. The old prejudices must now be shaken off and in Free India the Press must play its role fairly and squarely in laying the foundation of our newly acquired Freedom on truly democratic lines and help to erect the edifice of the state on secure and enduring foundation.

64. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

Camp: Pilani
23 August 1948

HONBLE PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
PRIME MINISTER INDIA
NEW DELHI

NEWSPAPERS ANNOUNCE DOMINION PRIME MINISTERS CONFERENCE
LONDON THIRD WEEK SEPTEMBER STOP PLEASE WIRE PROBABLE DATE YOUR
RETURN TO ENABLE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DATE TO BE ANNOUNCED STOP
HOPE 18TH OCTOBER POSSIBLE

RAJENDRAPRASAD

65. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 23, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 20th August enclosing a copy of Sri Ghanshyamdas Birla's letter suggesting six names for trusteeship of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund representing Industry, Trade and Commerce. I have no objection to these names being included as trustees. I have given you the list. Will you please consult Panditji regarding the names in the list and send it to me? We could then probably announce the names of the trustees.

I am thinking of having a meeting of the Working Committee in Delhi on the 4th and 5th September and propose to come there for that purpose if the dates suit you all. The meeting is necessary to fix the date of the Congress and also the dates

for the election of the President of the next Congress and some other important matters, amongst which the most important may be, if the members so desire, the consideration of the relationship of India with the British Commonwealth. Panditji was suggesting that we would consider this matter in the Working Committee.

I am thinking of having the session of the Constituent Assembly to begin on the 18th October but it depends on Jawaharlalji's return from England. I read in the papers that the Conference of Prime Ministers of Dominions will be held in the 3rd week of September. If that is so, it would perhaps be possible for Jawaharlalji to return about the middle of October so that we can have the session from the 18th October. I have, however, wired to Jawaharlalji to let me know the probable date of his return so that I may announce the date of the session.

I hope you are keeping well, although I feel that on account of the session of the Assembly you may be having a very busy time. I have not derived as much benefit as I hoped as the weather here has been as cloudy and wet this year as in any other place but it is clearing up now and I hope to improve.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Vallabhbhai Patel.

66. To Govind Ballabh Pant

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 23, 1948

My dear Pantji,

I have seen an announcement in the Press that the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces will commence its session on the 18th October. I have been thinking of having a session of the Constituent Assembly commencing that very day. We have not yet announced the exact date but the Secretariat of the Assembly announced sometime ago that the final session would commence sometime in the third week or the latter half of October. So it seems there will be a clash of dates. I do not know how many members there are from your Province in the Constituent Assembly who are also members of Provincial Assembly, but I am sure about one and that is yourself. I do not like to miss you on any day of the session which will be the final session and will give final shape to our Constitution. I hope the matter will receive your consideration.

I have not derived as much benefit as I had hoped from Pilani this year as the

weather here has been cloudy and wet and unlike other years but it is now clearing up and I hope to benefit.

I hope you are well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Prime Minister of U.P.
Lucknow.

67. *To Mira Behn*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 23, 1948

I am sorry to read your letter dated the 17th August and to learn that your health has deteriorated. I hope it will improve soon. It seems the place is malarious and you are not able to stand the climate. I hope you are taking good care of your health.

I hope to be in Delhi on the 4th and 5th of September just for two days for a meeting of the Working Committee which I have asked to be convened, but it depends on the convenience of other members and if they agree the meeting will be convened, otherwise not.

Rajendra Prasad

Sri Mira Behn
Ashram, Pashulok
P.O. Rishikesh, Dehra Dun.

68. *From Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh*

6 Suren Tagore Road
Ballygunge, Calcutta
24 August 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Your letter of the 12th instant reached me in time. But as I was moving from place to place I could not reply to you earlier. I had been to Baripada in

Mayurbhanj and to Imphal in Manipur State and I shall be going to Agartala day after tomorrow.

I believe the weather has cleared over there and you are now enjoying the place and recouping yourself.

As regards the formation of West Bengal P.C.C. I wrote a very detailed letter to Jugal Kishoreji in Delhi. My view was that both President and Secretary should in no case be from Eastern Bengal. Both may be from West Bengal. The proposal from Suren Babu's side was that he should be President and another gentleman whom you probably do not know, from Eastern Bengal, was proposed as Secretary. I told them that this would be very wrong; not only that, it would be interpreted in the following manner: Dr. Ghosh, a member of the Working Committee, and Sri Surendra Mohan Ghose, President of the Bengal P.C.C., both worked hard for the opting of the East Bengal members in order to establish the domination of the East Bengal people in West Bengal politics.

I consider this would have been against the interests of both West and East Bengal. So Dr. Banerjee's name was proposed with the concurrence of the vast majority of West Bengal delegates and a West Bengal delegate was elected as the Secretary. Personally I had no objection to Suren Babu's election as President if he and his party agreed to election of a suitable West Bengal delegate as Secretary.

I have sent my report about Mayurbhanj to Shankarrao and shall send him my report about Manipur also tomorrow. I am not sending you copies as I do not want you to be burdened with these things when you require rest. Only thing that I can tell you about Manipur is that all sections of Manipuris are very bitter against Assam, probably due to want of foresight of the Assam Ministry. However, we shall discuss these things when we meet.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Prafulla Chandra Ghosh

Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

69. To Shankarrao Deo

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 24, 1948

My dear Shankarraoji,

Please arrange a meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Working Committee of the Punjab Relief Committee between 4th and 6th September at which we may consider the accompanying application from the Secretary of the Samaj Sudhar

Samiti* as also a request from Mrs. Matthai which the Central Relief Committee has not found it possible to accept.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sri Shankarrao Deo, Secretary, A.I.C.C.
7 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.

*Not included.

70. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 24, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just received your letter enclosing Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru's letter with its annexure. I think it is a suitable object to which the Punjab Relief Fund may contribute. I am coming to Delhi on the 4th and will be there for two days. We can then talk over matters and decide. We may have a meeting of the Committee at that time for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

71. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
24 August 1948

DR RAJENDRA PRASAD
PILANI

YOUR TELEGRAM DOMINION PREMIERS CONFERENCE BEGINNING LONDON
ELEVENTH OCTOBER LIKELY TO LAST TEN DAYS

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

72. From Govind Ballabh Pant

Lucknow

August 25, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Hope you have received my letter which I sent you last week. I have since got the two complaints which have been forwarded to me by your office. I have already sent you full explanation about the allegations that had been made in connection with the wedding of Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim's sons. The complaint that you have now passed on to me only reiterates all that had been said previously. I have little more to add and if you still want me to look into any specific point, you will kindly let me know.

I have similarly sent you a full report along with a copy of the circular issued by Government with regard to the National Memorial Fund and the collections to be made therefor. I have also submitted to you copies of reports received in that connection. I am making enquiry into this particular complaint and if necessary will acquaint you with its result.

The collections for the National Memorial Fund have not been very satisfactory so far. The progress has been rather slow. We are holding a meeting of the Provincial Executive Committee this afternoon. The officials have been strictly charged not to take any active part in such collections. Congressmen will, I hope, take up the work and organise it so that the quota we have fixed for this Province may be realised.

Your letters suggesting the appointment of Liaison Officers and asking Congressmen not to interfere with day-to-day administration were considered by the Provincial Council at its last meeting. It was generally agreed that Congressmen should not meddle with official affairs. There was, however, a sharp difference of opinion about the advisability of setting up liaison bodies. I am not sure if they will secure the object you have in view. It is not unlikely that further complications and difficulties may be created thereby. However, the discussions were not completed and the question is to be taken up again on the 1st of September.

We have had terrible rain on this side. In some places the record for 24 hours exceeded twelve inches. Much damage has been caused to standing crops and hutments and houses were also swept away in several districts. The sky is even now overshadowed with clouds and one does not know how long this downpour will continue.

Trust Pilani has not suffered from this deluge. Hope you are having a relatively restful time and are steadily improving.

Yours sincerely,
G.B. Pant

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Congress President
Pilani (Jaipur State)
Rajputana.

73. From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

Sinha Library Road
Post Box No. 62, G.P.O.
Patna
The 27th August 1948

My dear Rajendra,

Last evening I found in the daily bulletin of the United Press, Patna Branch, a copy of the representation which has been presented to you by the members of West Bengal in the Constituent Assembly. This morning, the full text has appeared in *The Hindusthan Standard* and the *Patrika*, but only a short summary in *The Statesman*. So, at last the fat is in the fire, and you and the Government have got to make up your mind immediately as to what action to take in the matter. For my part, I am very much surprised to find that in a representation of this kind, two of the signatories are none other than the Ministers of the Central Government. In my opinion, this is setting a very bad example which, in future, may lead to very great trouble. However, in view of the fact that the representation has at last been presented to you, I am writing to request you to utilise my notice about Bihar's claims on West Bengal and the United Provinces in such a way and on such lines as you may think proper. You will easily understand that I am the last person to do anything which might place you in an awkward position in any way, and I shall, therefore, leave the whole question entirely to your discretion.

I have made additions this morning to the first chapter (Introductory and Explanatory) adding three paragraphs in general terms about the West Bengal representation, the full text of which I am going to print as Appendix I. I have not had time to read it carefully till now but, after doing so, I may also add some paragraphs to the last chapter of the Memorandum. Curiously, I have been highly gratified to find in today's papers the text of a very well-worded and long resolution of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee on the same subject, expressing their view that the whole question of linguistic Provinces should be postponed for another ten years. I dare say, you will have seen this resolution which has appeared in almost every leading paper during the last two or three days. I have utilised in the first chapter by quoting some sentences of it in support of Bihar's position on this very contentious matter.

Lastly, I would very much like to hear from you what action is taken on this West Bengal's representation. Assuming that it is going to be entertained, I feel that Bihar should be given ample opportunity of expressing its views not only in the Press and on the platform, but also through its Legislature, which is going to meet at Ranchi on the 6th of September, and will last for a month.

Hoping to hear from you and trusting all well, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

74. To Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

Camp: Pilani
 Jaipur State
 August 29, 1948

My dear Sir,

Please accept my thanks for your letters dated the 21st, 23rd, and 24th August and their enclosures. I have now received a letter signed by 16 members of the Constituent Assembly from West Bengal requesting me to extend the terms of reference of the Commission so as to include the question of re-drawing the boundary between Bengal and Bihar. I have replied to them that I can't do it. They have said that they will raise the question in the Constituent Assembly. I have told them that the matter will be dealt with when it arises. I am however preserving your letter so that if any occasion arises and it is considered of use, it may be utilised.

I have seen your note to the Prime Minister. I hope that some action has been taken on it. I agree that it would be better if the memorandum is published on behalf of the Government but it is of course for them to decide. I note that it is not possible to attach as an appendix the correspondence which contains the opinion of European officers, extracts from which have been copiously quoted in the memorandum as they contain other matters also. In that case, the extracts as quoted will serve the purpose equally well. I hope the Government have given you the assistance which you needed and for which you wrote in your note. Ordinarily there should be no difficulty in complying with a request like this when you have been doing so much for them.

I do not know if there is any proposal for appointing Parliamentary Secretaries at the present moment. As a matter of fact the question has been hanging fire for more than a year now but I do not know if there is any foundation for the news item published in the Press forecasting the appointment of four Ministers of State having the same status as of Sri Mohanlal Saxena, amongst whom Babu Satyanarayan Sinha is one. If that be true then perhaps there will be no appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries. I do not know also what foundation there is for the news published in the Patna papers that I am going to join the Government once again. I have no information direct or indirect of any kind whatsoever about this matter and I do not personally consider it likely. If there had been any foundation for it I should have certainly known it....* The weather has now cleared up and I hope I shall derive benefit from it. It is now dry although clouds are now and then visible. As regards Brajeshwar Babu, I do not know if I can do anything in the matter. The matter rests with the Ministers and particularly the Prime Minister and I am not likely to be consulted about it. I do not like to thrust my opinion on them in such matters.

I am well. Hope you will be in good health.
With best regards,

Yours affectionately,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law
Patna.

*Portion of letter illegible.

75. From Shankarrao Deo

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
30th August 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have addressed a letter today to all the members of the Working Committee regarding the venue and time of the meeting to be held on 5th September. A copy of this letter is enclosed herewith for your information.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, A.I.C.C.
Pilani.

Enclosure:

(Copy of a letter from Shankarrao Deo to all members of the Working Committee)

No. G-5/5121

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
30th August 1948

Dear Friend,

In continuation of our letter No. G-7/490 of 24th August we have to inform you that the Working Committee will meet at 8.30 a.m. on 5th September 1948 at

the residence of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, 1 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi. You are requested to attend.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo
General Secretary

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Pilani.

76. *To M. Tayyebulla*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 30, 1948

My dear Mr. Tayyebulla,

The question of a separate Province at Cachar, Manipur, Tripura and Lushai Hills does not arise unless there be extraordinary circumstances of the same. I do not think that such circumstances exist, specially in view of the facts that you have stated in your letter. In any case the question is not under consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Mr. M. Tayyebulla
Minister, Publicity, Assam
Shillong.

77. *To Govind Ballabh Pant*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
August 30, 1948

My dear Pantji,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 25th August 1948. I pass on to you complaints which I get so that you may be kept posted and where you think necessary you might take action. It does not necessarily mean that I want you to make enquiries in each case. When I consider any such action necessary, I shall write to you specifically.

I am sorry that the collections for the National Memorial Fund are not satisfactory not only in your Province but practically all over the country. It seems Congressmen are not taking as much active interest as we should expect them to do and it is they alone who can reach the masses and make collections from them.

Pilani has been unusually wet this year with the result that I could not have the benefit which I expected to receive. But it has cleared up now and I shall have better luck hereafter. I am required to go to Delhi for a meeting of the Working Committee on the 5th and in connection with some other urgent work. My hope is that I shall come back after finishing the work and get another 3 weeks or so in Pilani which will help me to recoup.

I wrote to you about the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. Since then I have heard from the Prime Minister that the Conference of Prime Ministers in London commences on the 11th October and is likely to last for ten days. That being so, the commencement of the Constituent Assembly session on the 18th October is out of question if the Prime Minister is to attend it, as I understand that he is going to London for the Conference there. I shall be able to fix this up with him when I meet him on the 5th in the Working Committee. I hope you will also be coming.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

78. *From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

Patna
31st August 1948

My dear Rajendra,

Here I am to bother you again as is, I fear, my bad, or rather cursed habit. I hope you have also received this precious document, but I am posting it to you all the same, so that you may not miss it. I have just sent you a telegram enquiring about your Delhi programme, as I saw that a meeting of the All India Congress Committee is going to be held there on the 5th of September.

Hoping to hear from you and trusting all well, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

Enclosure:

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION

27-B Chittaranjan Avenue

Calcutta-13

25th August 1948

Re: Readjustment of boundary of West Bengal

Dear Sir,

May I enclose for your kind consideration a note on "plebiscite", on the margin herein. [Reproduced below.]

Yours faithfully,

S.K. Ganguly

President

(A note on Plebiscite)

Regarding redistribution of West Bengal boundary we have been told that it may be through some sort of plebiscite or referendum. There is no case for plebiscite in respect of West Bengal's claim upon portions of East Bihar in face of (a) special Congress resolution (1911); (b) the statement issued by Bihar leaders (1912) specifically mentioning the tracts due to Bengal therein and in the classification made by Dr. Prasad in 1937, all the Bengali-speaking tracts now in Bihar have been mentioned for amalgamation with West Bengal; (c) the opinions of Mahatmaji, Dr. Sitaramayya, Sri Shankarrao Deo and the leaders of the Forward Bloc and the Socialist Party; (d) the support lent to Bengal's claims by Dr. Prasad himself, viz., (i) in 1931, at Hutmura in Manbhum District, where he sponsored a resolution regarding amalgamation of Manbhum with Bengal, (ii) in 1937, while settling the Bengalee-Bihari controversy, Dr. Prasad classified the autochthonous population of East Bihar as Bengali-speaking, thereby precluding the reopening of the case through plebiscite; (e) the Census figures which clearly establish the overwhelming numerical preponderance of the Bengali-speakers in the area claimed; (f) the preparation of the electoral roll in Bengali in East Bihar and the authorisation to reply to questions in Bengali which conclusively prove that they are admitted to be Bengali majority areas; (g) the recent disposal of Seraikella and Kharsawan by the Central Government and the proposed formation of four linguistic Provinces in South and West India without reference to any tribunal, not to speak of plebiscite; and (h) the following: In his recent letter Dr. Prasad has mentioned that a resolution regarding amalgamation fell through in the Manbhum D.C.C. meeting. If this be so, some may suggest that this is a case for plebiscite but Manbhum papers have categorically denied that such a resolution was ever

tabled or defeated. [Now] it appears that in a packed D.C.C. meeting, Manbhum, which is 80% Bengali-speaking, was declared a Hindi-speaking majority area! This resolution, however, is not the same as the one referred to by Dr. Prasad. Moreover no case for plebiscite can rest on the resolution which goes against acknowledged facts. The newspapers report that the Bengali-speaking members' transport was interfered with and they were thus prevented from attending the meeting by the opposite party. It is now widely known that the President, the Secretary and about 45 members of the D.C.C. have resigned in disgust.

Conditions for holding a fair plebiscite in the tracts concerned do not exist: (i) The Bengalees in East Bihar are not free to record their votes but are muzzled, (ii) Mashruwala (11-7-48) "It (the Bihar Government) has planned out a programme apparently for propagating Hindi in the Manbhum District but really for ensuring that in the event of referendum the district does not secede from Bihar", (iii) White paper on Hyderabad, dated 11th August, contains, "The Nizam's Government wished to hold a plebiscite under the conditions in which a small militant group controls the destinies of the people and the Razakars are left free to terrorise the people into submission. Plebiscite without an interim government representative of and satisfactory to the majority population in Hyderabad will only be a fraud on the people." These words equally apply to Bihar.

The dispute between the two Provinces (West Bengal and Bihar) is not between two alien Governments, the two Provinces being within the same Dominion. If the Central Government prescribes plebiscite for her Provinces for the settlement of any and every difference that can be easily solved by other readily available methods, sooner or later more evil passions than can be effectively controlled will be let loose with the result that there will be political upheaval and disintegration.

79. From Vallabhbhai Patel

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
1st September 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Thank you for your letter regarding contributions from the Punjab Relief Fund to the Central Relief Committee. I should not like to go into details, but it is quite clear to me that unless and until the accounts are clarified and rendered and a report of the activities so far undertaken reviewed we may not incur any additional expenditure except to the extent that it is absolutely necessary to keep the organisation going. I have not so far received Krishnan Nair's account at all; nor has Jajuji seen me about these matters.

Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani has made out as if the amount of Rs.75,000 was given by me to Krishnan Nair. Krishnan Nair's letter was received by me through Sucheta and copies of the letters which I sent to Krishnan Nair regarding the contributions of Rs.25,000 and Rs.50,000 were both endorsed to her. It would, therefore, not be correct to say that the amount was handed over to Krishnan Nair.

Also, in future whenever any requests are made to me for funds on behalf of the Central Relief Committee, a copy of the minutes of the Committee should invariably be sent to me. You will notice that there is nothing in Ramadhar's letter of 13th August to show that he had the authority of the Central Relief Committee to make that request to me.

Perhaps, the best thing would be to discuss these matters when you come here on the 5th and 6th of September.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Pd.

80. *From K. Mitra*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
(Economic & Political Research Deptt.)

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
5th September 1948

Dear Rashtrapati,

The Standing Economic Committee of the A.I.C.C. held a meeting on the 3rd inst. to consider the situation caused by 'inflation' in the country and appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of Shri Gulzarilal Nanda and Shri Annada Prosad Chaudhuri to study the situation with special reference to the representations of Economists, Industrialists, Labour Leaders and others and to make its suggestions to the Committee. So, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda and Shri Annada Prosad Chaudhuri have each submitted a note on the subject which I am forwarding for your kind perusal.

Yours sincerely,
K. Mitra

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Enclosure 1:

(A note submitted by Gulzarilal Nanda)

To provide material for discussion, I am jotting down my views regarding the lines of action which might prove feasible as well as effective in tackling the problem of inflation in the country. The obvious approach to the solution is by way of (1) controlled distribution, (2) maximising the production and supply of essential commodities, (3) reduction of cost of production; (4) bringing down public and private expenditure, i.e. the demand for goods and services; (5) curtailment of active money (a) by immobilising and drawing away the surplus purchasing power, (b) check on the expansion of currency; (6) adequate system of economic intelligence, advice and assistance; (7) creating (a) a feeling that prices will be pressed down by all available means, (b) a sense of emergency evoking moral energy and effort of the people to take up Government's policy in this behalf.

The stress may vary according as the measures under consideration are (a) immediate, (b) short-term, (c) long-term. In the case of (a) controlled distribution, diminishing the volume of active money and creating an expectation of a fall in prices, would take precedence over others. With regard to (b) increase of production of essential commodities, reduction in costs and keeping down expenditure would call for greater attention.

Certain precautions may be kept in view: (1) No drastic action should be taken capable of provoking reactions which might be difficult to control. (2) For any measures to be adopted, there should be available a suitable administrative machinery. (3) Reliance should be placed on combined and cumulative effect of many remedies operating on different points rather than on very stringent action in any particular direction. (4) No socially retrograde step should be taken under the pressure of a sense of emergency. (5) There is to be no abandonment or postponement of any scheme if on that account future recovery might be retarded.

I wish to emphasise the fact that the situation which confronts us involves a moral problem, and cannot be successfully dealt with on the economic plane only. Everything possible should be done to rouse the latent moral force of the people to generate a spirit of discipline and sacrifice and to make austerity a patriotic duty. There is a call for wider contacts between the leadership and the people and for some turn of things which should purify the moral atmosphere of the country.

CONCRETE ACTION

The aim is to bring down the cost of living index by 50 points in the course of the next six months and 100 points by the end of a year.

I. *Controlled distribution:* (1) There should be extensive price and

distribution control on cereals, pulses, cloth, kerosene, charcoal and building materials like cement and iron.

(2) There may be no rationing in rural areas but the price control of the aforesaid commodities must be all-embracing.

(3) Price of cotton and coal should also be controlled. Prices of other raw materials entering into the production of the essential commodities listed above should also be kept under control.

(4) Fair price shops and cooperative retail trade should be extended to the utmost. Special arrangements should be made for provision of agricultural implements, manure, etc., at reasonable rates preferably through the agency of cooperative societies.

(5) A large supply of kerosene, salt, etc., should be assured for rural areas.

(6) Procurement from rural areas should be organised immediately. If an adequate quantity is not drawn out on a voluntary basis, a levy should be imposed on a moderate scale to begin with, which may be stiffened as need arises. Differential rates may be paid to induce a larger outflow. The rates for procurement may vary between the pre-decontrol rate for the purpose and a ceiling which stands half way between the present price and the floor.

(7) Rigorous control of import and export should be introduced and progressive steps should be taken to create a state monopoly of trade. Autonomous corporations should be created for this purpose.

(8) Imports of non-essential articles should be reduced to the barest minimum and that of all the basic material and capital goods necessary for producing essential consumer goods should be enlarged. No essential commodity should be exported unless absolutely unavoidable.

(9) Speculation, specially in essential commodities, should be eliminated.

(10) Close attention should be given to rationalisation of transport so as to remove bottlenecks and readjust priorities on a sound basis and in a co-ordinated manner.

(11) Competition between different departments of Government and the various Governments in the country should be avoided by integrating their schemes and programmes in relation to the available resources of materials and man-power and by co-ordinating the execution of these schemes. This is particularly necessary with regard to the programme of construction involving the use of scarce building materials.

(12) Machinery should be immediately set up for collecting statistics of prices of a large number of commodities and services in all regions. Continuous study of trends and fluctuations should be maintained for the purpose of interpretation and action. It may take time to create a full organisation. Meanwhile, something should be devised on an ad hoc basis.

II. Increase of production and supply: (1) Production control to begin with articles under controlled distribution and extended to the entire field of industry should be established on a scientific basis, in respect of both quantity and quality. The purpose would be to maximise the production of selected varieties.

reduction in costs and cutting down wastes of all kinds and at all stages. Targets should be fixed in all directions. Fullest information should be obtained and for this purpose returns should be standardised. Arrangements should be made for scrutiny. The establishments which fall below certain minimum standards should be examined and set right and if necessary taken over. Those which excel should be accorded recognition.

(2) The idea of production committees in industrial establishments has been accepted but has not been seriously pursued. There should be similar committees for regions and industries.

(3) Production control should not be of a negative character only. Production suffers often on account of delays and difficulties which Government can help to remove. Advice and assistance in removing obstructions will go very far in increasing the volume and in speeding up the flow of production.

A Government agency should be set up to achieve the aforesaid objectives in collaboration with the Production Committee.

(4) The whole system of remuneration of labour can and should be readjusted to create incentives for increased production. Apart from monetary rewards, other forms of recognition should be introduced, to stimulate social emulation, for raising production. The tripartite organisation set up for implementation of the truce resolution should immediately evolve a suitable scheme.

(5) A ceiling should be put on dividends which may not for the present exceed 6 per cent of capital and reserves. This ceiling may be lowered in course of time.

(6) There is delay in implementing the terms of the truce resolution. No concrete steps have yet been taken for determining fair rates of wages, profits, etc. No headway has been made in respect of industrial housing. Provision of houses for the working class is of the highest importance from the standpoint of increased production. It would not be inflationary in its total effect.

(7) By organised effort, an appreciable addition to the supply of goods can be secured through cottage industries, but the attempt would be worth making only if a defined portion of the industrial field is reserved for cottage industries on the lines laid down in the Congress Economic Programme.

III. Curtailment of purchasing power: (1) Compulsory saving should be introduced in respect of personal incomes, including dividends. The rates may be as follows:

Exemption up to Rs.60.

2½ per cent between Rs.60 and Rs.200.

5 per cent between Rs.200 and Rs.500.

7½ per cent between Rs.500 and Rs.1,000.

10 per cent for amounts between Rs.1,000 and Rs.2,000.

20 per cent for amounts exceeding Rs.2,000.

20 per cent on all incomes accruing from dividends.

Interest up to 2½ per cent may be paid, the rate of interest decreasing as the amount of savings rises.

(2) Payment of the declared dividends should be limited to 6 per cent of paid-up capital or three-fourths of the average post-war period whichever is higher. The remaining amount should be treated as compulsory savings.

(3) Undistributed profits should also be dealt with as compulsory savings and refund of Excess Profits Tax should be held in abeyance. A portion of the savings under both these heads may be released for the purpose of purchase of capital goods to produce essential commodities.

(4) No change in the tax structure and scales should be introduced as an emergency measure now, but the question should be dealt with on merits at the appropriate time.

(5) Compulsory savings may also be introduced in rural areas and collected with land revenues from landholders whose payment of revenue exceeds a certain minimum.

(6) Fifty per cent of the bonuses receivable by workers should be converted into savings certificates.

(7) A vast campaign of national savings should be launched by official as well as non-official agencies. Non-negotiable bonds and savings certificates for 3 and 5 years with higher rates of interest for the latter should be issued. The rate of interest for these bonds and certificates should be made more attractive.

(8) Wages should be stabilised along with prices, allowing for the rectification of existing disparities and anomalies.

(9) The issue of bearer bonds should be favourably considered.

(10) Treasury bills of six months' and one year's duration at slightly higher rates of interest should be introduced.

(11) No further expansion of currency should be permitted. The present figure should be the deadline for note issue.

The credit resources at the disposal of the investment agencies should be controlled and diverted so as to effect the objectives of an anti-inflation policy.

(12) There should be no increase in the rate of interest for Government borrowing. The bank rate should not be raised.

IV. Reduction of public and private expenditure: (1) All capital expenditure should be financed from current revenues and genuine borrowings.

(2) Grants to Provinces in respect of expenditure on desirable schemes and programmes should not be held up or postponed as long as it does not become necessary to expand currency on this account.

(3) No expenditure of social, educational and welfare character capable of yielding positive and quick results in improving the health, capacity and the character of the people should be postponed. This applies to Prohibition also.

All this is subject to overriding consideration that no expansion of currency occurs on this account.

Enclosure 2:

(A note submitted by Annada Prosad Chaudhuri)

1. Economies should be effected in all Government Departments including

81. From K.C. Reddy

"Awdry House"
 Fern Hill, Ootacamund
 7th September 1948

My dear Babu Rajendra Prasadji,

You had written to me sometime back regarding the representation of Anglo-Indians in the State on the Advisory Committees we had set up in connection with the work of our Constituent Assembly. As you know, the population of Anglo-Indians in the State is very small, only about 36,000. We had intended that they could be brought under Christians and that no separate representation was necessary for Anglo-Indians as such. By the time I had received your letter Advisory Committees on Minorities and Fundamental Rights had been constituted and according to our C.A. rules, we have no power to nominate anyone on to the Committees. But I am glad to inform you that an Anglo-Indian, Mr. Theobald by name, has been co-opted as a member of the Main Principles Committee which was constituted after the receipt of your letter. He has written to Mr. Frank Anthony about the same and I hope that Mr. Anthony would be somewhat satisfied. You may please bring this to the notice of Mr. Anthony if you so desire and please convey to him the assurance that we will not neglect the interests of the Anglo-Indians in the State. Hope this finds you in good health.

With deep regards,

Yours sincerely,
 K.C. Reddy

Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
 1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

82. From Shankarrao Deo

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref. ED-8A/253

7 Jantar Mantar Road
 New Delhi
 8 September 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

The Standing Economic Committee of the A.I.C.C. met on 3rd September 1948 and 6th September 1948. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presided. The Committee considered the question of combating inflation and arrived at certain

conclusions which you may please find in the summary of the proceedings of the Committee on 6th September 1948. As requested by the Committee I am forwarding two copies, one for your kind consideration and the other, if you approve, to be sent to the Prime Minister of the Indian Union, as recommendations of the Standing Economic Committee of the A.I.C.C. for fighting inflation for the consideration of the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, A.I.C.C.
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(Summary of proceedings of the Standing Economic Committee held on 6 September 1948)

The Committee reassembled at 3.30 p.m. on September 6, in the Prime Minister's room, Council Hall. The following members were present:

1. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (*Chairman*)
2. Prof. N.G. Ranga
3. Sri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
4. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
5. Sri Gulzarilal Nanda
6. Sri Shankarrao Deo (*Convener*).

The members of the Committee went through the notes submitted by Sri G.L. Nanda and Sri A.P. Chaudhuri* on the question of combating inflation. The note of Sri Nanda was taken up by the Committee as the basis of discussion and the following conclusions were arrived at.

The Committee agrees with the lines of approach and the safeguards recommended in the note and attaches special importance to the moral aspect of the question.

The Committee has examined the order of importance of the suggestions for concrete action, as arranged under the following four heads: (1) Controlled distribution; (2) Increase of production and supply; (3) Curtailment of purchasing power; and (4) Reduction of public expenditure.

I. In respect of controlled distribution, the Committee looks upon items Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 6 covering the question of price control, rationing, fair price shops and procurement as of first grade importance. Regarding item No. 6 the question of the rate to be paid for procurement was left open. The next in importance are items Nos. 7 and 12, i.e., the control of import and export trade and setting up of machinery for the continuous study of price trends and fluctuations. The Committee agrees with the other recommendations under this head.

II. With regard to increase of production and supply the Committee attaches the greatest importance to fixation of targets under item No. 1 and regards items Nos. 4, 5 and 6, i.e., the question of remuneration of labour, dividends and implementation of the terms of the Truce Resolution as being next in order of importance. Under item No. 5 the Committee is further of opinion that the question of fixing a ceiling should be treated as an emergency step and the actual rate should be decided by the Government after consideration of relevant facts and statistics. The Committee agrees with the other recommendations under this head.

III. With regard to curtailment of purchasing power the Committee agrees with the proposals for compulsory saving under items Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 and voluntary saving under item No. 7. The Committee believes that along with an intensive drive for saving a total stop to any expansion of currency is of the highest importance in bringing down the price levels.

The Committee agrees to the proposal of stabilising wages under item No. 8, subject to the condition that a ceiling is also fixed for dividends and other measures to bring down prices are put into operation.

As recommended in items Nos. 4 and 12 there should be no change in the taxation policy for the present and also in the rate of interest and bank rate.

The Committee considered the proposal in favour of issue of bearer bonds in item No. 9 and felt that no immediate step should be taken but the possibility in this direction may be explored.

IV. The Committee agrees with the recommendations regarding capital expenditure, grants and expenditure on welfare schemes.

(The Committee concluded its session at 5.15 p.m.)

*See enclosure to K. Mitra's letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 5 September 1948, for the notes submitted by Gulzarilal Nanda and Annada Prosad Chaudhuri.

83. *From Dr. Gopichand Bhargava*

No. 2001-PAP

Simla-E
September 8, 1948

My dear Babuji,

I have your letter of the 31st August, with which has been forwarded a complaint to the effect that coercion is being exercised in the matter of collection for the Gandhi Memorial Fund, from Shri Kailash Chander to the General Secretary of the Janadikar Samiti. I had received a similar complaint some weeks ago. An enquiry was made and it was found that the complaint was without any foundation.

2. I have examined the cases of R.S.S. workers several times and we do so every now and then. We arrest only those persons about whom we have definite proof that they are indulging in R.S.S. activities. Such of them who have assured us that they will not take part in these activities have been let off by the East Punjab Government.

3. Shri Mauli Chandra came to Simla and made some objectionable speeches. R.S.S. workers, as you know, are reviving their activities all over the country under various garbs such as Janadhirati Samiti, Civil Liberties Union, etc., etc. Shri Mauli Chandra met me and I gave him [a piece of my mind]. I made it clear to him that we would not tolerate any kind of subversive activities by anybody under any name. The political situation in the country demands that we should take firm action and should not allow the R.S.S. or other communalists to take any advantage of the present situation in the country.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Gopichand Bhargava

The Hon'ble Doctor Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
Camp: Pilani (Jaipur State).

84. *From Dr. T.R. Naravane*

Surgical and Maternity Home
Shivaji Park Corner, Bombay-28
11 September 1948

Re: Position of Congressmen vis-à-vis Linguistic Provinces Commission.

Dear Friend,

I, on behalf of some of my friends and members in the B.P.P.C. and Congress Municipal Party, Bombay, approach you for a clarification of our position and the position of Congressmen in general as regards the Linguistic Provinces Commission.

You as President of the Constituent Assembly have appointed the Dar Commission for inquiry into the question. The Commission has issued a questionnaire, which has been sent to the various Congress Committees for their views. While some Congress Committees might be unanimous in their views, in others there is bound to be a difference of opinion. In a Committee like the B.P.C.C. and the Bombay Congress Municipal Party, of which we are most loyal members, opinion is very sharply divided and the view of the Committee can in no wise be unanimous. As is well known, the question is kept open by the Congress.

The Congress Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. have not taken any decision. In the light of this, in our opinion, a Provincial Congress Committee also cannot take a majority vote and represent it as the view of the Committee, nor can it issue a mandate to members of a subordinate body, e.g. the Congress Municipal Party, to vote in a particular way.

In fact we expect that the members should be left free to express or represent their honest views singly or collectively.

I shall be much obliged to you if you can help me by giving guidance to us on this point: under these circumstances, whether a Congress Committee can bind its members by a majority vote to hold and express a particular view and issue a mandate to the subordinate bodies to vote in a certain way.

I may add that a free opinion on this subject, which is under dispute even among Congress Committees, does not at all militate against the creed or discipline of the Congress.

Requesting you to treat this matter as very urgent and expecting your early reply, I remain, with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
T.R. Naravane

The President, Indian National Congress
7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi.

85. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

I Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
15th September 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

As desired by you, I have sent a cheque for Rs.2 lakhs to the Central Relief Committee as a loan for the housing scheme. I only hope that they will recover all these advances from Government as soon as possible and credit the same to me. I should be glad if you would kindly instruct the Secretary of the Committee to do so.

I have also sent another cheque for Rs.2 lakhs for the current expenses of the Committee as desired by you.

Radha Raman, the President of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, saw me on Saturday evening saying that he had seen you at the station when you were leaving for Pilani and that you had asked him to see me about the meeting which was being held the next day and which was to be addressed by Purushottamdas Tandon. It was impossible at that stage to abandon the meeting, but I had a long discussion with Purushottamdas Tandon and as a

result of that discussion, while the meeting was held, the speech which Tandonji delivered did not contain anything that would embarrass us. On the whole, it was quite helpful. Gadgil presided and the whole thing went off quite well.

I hope the change from Delhi to Pilani has already started benefiting you. I shall hear from Ghanshyamdas when he returns how you are getting along. On the day you left I just reached your place only 5 minutes after you left for station.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Pd.
President, Indian National Congress
Pilani.

86. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Pilani
September 16, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Since coming here I have had two attacks of asthma in two nights but I am feeling better today. I hope the climate of this place which is dry at present will help me to recuperate soon.

I have received a complaint from Bihar about the nomination by the Congress Legislature Party for Presidentship of the Legislative Council which has fallen vacant on account of the death of President, Kumar Rajiva Ranjan Sinha. As the election is fixed for the 17th, I do not know if anything can be done now and even if you decide to do anything the election will have taken place before any decision might reach Ranchi. But it is not this particular question which has been causing me some anxiety. I receive complaints of various kinds from time to time from various Provinces regarding the work of the ministries and largely on account of my ill health I feel I am not able to cope with the work. Under the constitution of the Congress the Parliamentary Board consists of 5 or 6 members and the President of the Congress is its ex-officio Chairman. In that capacity I am there but unfortunately I am not able to do the work to my own satisfaction and perhaps others are also not satisfied. I would therefore request you to take up the work in my place and to deal with the questions as they arise. If you agree I shall ask all the papers relating to the Parliamentary Board work to be passed on to you.

As regards Bihar, I have kept aloof from local politics for which I am blamed by friends but there are reasons for my doing so and it is no use discussing them in this letter, but it is not only as a member of the Bihar Congress Committee or as a

prominent Congressman of Bihar that I have kept aloof but I have not been taking interest in Bihar affairs even as President of the Congress and Chairman of the Parliamentary Board. You may therefore have to look into Bihar affairs also. I have been hesitating to put this extra burden on you as I know you too have heavy burden and it is therefore that I am writing to you to know if I could pass this work on to you. When my health improves I shall be there to share the burden so long as I continue to be the President. I am asking Shankarrao Deo to see you in this connection to whom I am also sending a copy of this letter.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

87. *To Shankarrao Deo*

Camp: Pilani
September 16, 1948

My dear Shankarrao,

The bearer has come all the way from Bihar with certain complaints. I have asked him to see you so that you might consult the other members of the Parliamentary Board who are in Delhi and take such action as you all feel called upon to do. As you know, apart from my health which has made it more and more difficult for me to give the time and attention required to deal with various questions arising in so many Provinces which the Parliamentary Board has to deal with, I have not been taking any interest in Bihar affairs and I have kept myself aloof from the local politics. I have also not taken any interest even as President of the Congress or as Chairman of the Parliamentary Board and, therefore, I leave it to you all to deal with this and other questions. As I have said before I find it impossible to do justice to the various problems which come up for consideration from various parts of the country regarding parliamentary work and I am therefore writing to Sardar a letter, a copy of which I am enclosing for your information,* to take up the work in my place and I would request you to give him all necessary assistance and cooperation. Kindly meet Sardar and fix up these matters with him.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri Shankarrao Deo
General Secretary, A.I.C.C.
7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi.

*See Dr. Rajendra Prasad's letter to Vallabhbhai Patel, dated 16 September 1948.

88. From Shankarrao Deo

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref. G-62/5688

7 Jantar Mantar Road

New Delhi

17th September 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

I returned from Calcutta yesterday night. I was told that when you left for Pilani on the 11th your condition was practically the same. I hope stay in Pilani will improve your health fast and you will soon be able to take your normal activities.

Today in the morning I had a talk with Sardarji about the Presidency of the Jaipur Congress. He told me that you had a talk with him on the matter but not much in detail. I have again requested Sardarji to think about this subject seriously and come to some decision in consultation with you and Jawaharlalji. He has not still talked to Panditji on the matter. He promised me to write a letter to you about it. As I have told you personally, if you will kindly consent to continue, all will accept the position very gladly and there will be no necessity for any contest which, at this critical juncture, will be very harmful. I know your health is such that it is a heavy burden on you and if times were not so critical I would not have thought it proper to press you. In case you do not agree, it is you, Sardarji and Jawaharlalji who have to decide and, whatever the decision, will be accepted by all without any reservation. The last date of nomination is 4th of October, and you will have to come to some decision, if not before 4th, immediately after it. While in Calcutta, Prafulla Babu had also discussed this matter with me. He is also very anxious that you three should consult amongst yourselves and decide what to do, so that it would be very easy for us to follow. I am sure you will do what is needful at this juncture. We, who may be called juniors, are really very anxious and worried about the future of the Congress. We are convinced that for the future welfare of the country, the Congress not only must live but live vigorously. It has still to fulfil the task set for it by Mahatmaji and that means a great thing. But at the same time we find that the conditions are most unfavourable and anyhow yourself, Sardarji and Panditji are not looking at the matter from the same viewpoint as ours. Of course you have tried your best to help us even while you are suffering so much from indifferent health. I have written this plainly because I think the matter is very serious for the future of the Congress as well as the country.

You must have received from Dr. T.R. Naravane, a member of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, a letter asking for a clarification as to the position of Congressmen in general, and Congressmen who are elected members

of the Congress organisation or Provincial Legislatures or Corporations or Municipalities in particular, with regard to the Linguistic Provinces Commission. What he wants is that as long as the Commission is collecting material for its report and asking people to give evidence before it, Congressmen may be free to give expression to their views on the subject. There should be no mandate by the majority to express opinion or vote on the subject according to the opinion of the majority. I think you will agree that every Congressman should be free to express his opinion or vote on the subject. Otherwise your appointing a Commission and taking evidence will have no meaning. Of course Congressmen are bound to observe restraints. These restraints are necessary to keep the controversy between Congressmen themselves within limit so that it will not harm the organisation to which they belong. The improper conduct of Congressmen, if necessary, may come under the rule of disciplinary action. As the matter is urgent, I request you to make this point clear for Congressmen. Much confusion and controversy amongst Congressmen will thus be avoided. I propose to go to Maharashtra on the 24th for the first week of Gandhi Jayanti and will return here on the 3rd October.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Chandra Bhawan, Pilani
Jaipur State.

89. *From Shankarrao Deo*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref. G-13/5693

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
18 September 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

In my letter to you yesterday I have referred to Dr. T.R. Naravane's letter to you on the question of Congressmen being given freedom of expression and voting on the subject of creation of linguistic Provinces. When writing that letter I had no idea that the letter sent to you by Dr. Naravane must be in the A.I.C.C. office. It struck me afterwards that the letter must be here because all your correspondence as the President of the Congress is now directed to the A.I.C.C. office either by the correspondents or by the people at 1 Queen Victoria Road.

Unless Dr. Naravane's letter was with you it was not possible for you to give your opinion on the matter. I am therefore sending the letter to you.* As I have said in my previous letter the matter is urgent and people would like to have your view on it as early as possible. From papers I learn that Shri B.G. Kher, Premier of Bombay, has adopted the same line, namely, giving freedom of expression and voting to the members of Legislative Assembly when that question comes before it.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Pilani.

*See Dr. T.R. Naravane's letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 11 September 1948.

90. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

September 18, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have received your letter dated the 15th September 1948. I am sorry you missed me the day I was leaving. I have noted that you have given an advance of Rs.2 lakhs as a loan to the Central Relief Committee for the housing scheme. I remember having forwarded a resolution of the Central Relief Committee for this loan. You also say that you have given another cheque for Rs.2 lakhs for the current expenditure of the Committee as desired by me. I have no recollection but it may be that I forwarded to you a resolution of the Committee which was passed. I have written to Smt. Suchetaji to have the accounts cleared and to get the advances adjusted on receipt of accounts of disbursements.

I read a report of Tandonji's speech in the Press and I am glad it was a quite good and helpful speech.

Last night we were all pleased to hear on the radio that the Hyderabad affair has ended. I have already written to you that I have not derived as much benefit as I had hoped but the weather is now quite good and I hope I shall improve.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

91. From Vallabhbhai Patel

19 September 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Thank you for your letter of 16 September 1948. I am very sorry that you have not kept well even at Pilani, but I do hope that you will start making rapid progress very soon and will be restored to normal health.

I am certainly most willing to relieve you of your burden regarding Parliamentary Board affairs during your illness. You know my health is also not quite normal, and I have heavy responsibilities of Government, but even then I shall try my best to deal with the whole work adequately. You can ask all the papers relating to the Parliamentary Board to be sent to me.

I should like to say, however, that our difficulties in regard to the Parliamentary Board matters have been very much enhanced on account of the composition of the Board. Our original procedure was quite satisfactory and helped us to deal with the matters expeditiously and effectively. The constitution of the Board now is such that we get involved into long arguments and personal animosities with the result that progress becomes bogged. I feel that we should do something about it. In any case, it is a definite and great handicap to have to work with persons who have their finger in local politics and who are always approaching matters from a subjective instead of an objective point of view.

I shall also deal with Bihar matters and you need have no worry on that score. Please try to get well as soon as you can.

Shankarrao Deo came and spoke to me about the Presidentship of the Congress next year. He asked me to request you to stand for Presidentship once again. I told him that your health was the only reason which stood in the way of your standing again, but if you can persuade yourself to take up this burden, I am sure everybody in the country would welcome it and we shall also feel happy and relieved. At present there are four candidates, three of whom are members of the Working Committee and Tandonji is an outsider. If you stand there would be no contest and I do hope it will be possible for you to do so. But in case you still feel that you are not up to it, I feel we should settle this problem informally so that, if possible, a contest may be avoided. The time is short and I shall be glad if you can kindly let me know by telegram your own views. The matter is one which requires deep, earnest and urgent consideration, and I would request you to consider once again whether you can persuade yourself to stand for the Presidentship.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
Pilani.

92. From Shankarrao Deo

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
20 September 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

I received your letter dated 16th and also a copy of the letter that you have sent to Sardarji. The gentleman who brought these letters from Pilani personally saw me also. I had a talk with him and I promised to do the needful. As I am already in correspondence with Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahay, there is not much difficulty about it. I do not remember whether I told you that Shri Sahay had asked me to go to Patna in October so that he may be in a position to come to Patna where for the present the Bihar Government is. I have written to Shri Sahay that I will be going to Patna immediately after Gandhi Jayanti.

I saw Sardarji today in the morning and had a talk about the contents of your letter to him. He also felt that the deplorable conditions in which today we find the Congress organisation cannot be allowed to continue for a long time. Still he also did not know exactly how this could be checked. I had a general talk with him and I gathered that as you have asked him he will look into the work of the Parliamentary Board from time to time. He will write to you about it. He has asked me to go to him whenever necessary and he will see that matters which require his attention will be looked after by him. I hope something will come out of this.

I am going today to Jullundur in connection with Congress affairs in the Punjab. They have called an executive meeting tomorrow and I have asked them to invite prominent men of different groups, the object being if it is possible to make all groups combine in working the Congress organisation in the Province. I will be returning on the 23rd. As I have already written to you I will be leaving Delhi on the 24th for a tour of one week in Maharashtra during Gandhi Jayanti. I will see Sardarji again on my return from the Punjab. He has asked me specially to request the gentleman who saw you to supply all the necessary information about the complaints which he had made about the newly elected President of the Bihar Council, especially the episode of 10,000 rupees which it is alleged he extracted from somebody. He said that it was a serious matter if it was true and that he will see it to the end.

I have received your letter about the 4 lakhs given to the Central Relief Committee. You have received, I think, the copy of the resolution passed in the meeting of the Central Relief Committee held at your residence when you were here. There are two resolutions: one asks for the loan of 2 lakhs to be paid back to defray the expenditure incurred in connection with housing; and the other asks

for 2 lakhs of rupees for the current expenses of the Central Relief Committee. The paying back has already begun and the Committee will, I am told, pay back the 2 lakhs as they get the sum from the Government within a week. I [think] they have got 50,000. Within a day or two they expect 1 lakh more and within a week the rest of the money, so that you will see it is practically 2 lakhs which are given to the Committee for its current expenses. This was necessary because the Committee was very hard-pressed for funds as it has incurred large amounts of expenditure. I hope this will satisfy you on this account. I am sending for your easy reference a copy of the proceedings of the meeting of the Committee.

I have seen the letter that you have sent to Smt. Suchetaji. It is true that during your stay here you could not give any attention to any matter and therefore though the meeting was intentionally called during your stay here and at your residence, due to your sudden ill health you could not attend it. There is no doubt that as far as the advances are concerned there is little difficulty and unless they are adjusted it is very difficult to check the expenses and exactly know what is the financial position. But from the talk I had with Jajuji I think this system to a certain extent is inevitable. Large sums have to be advanced because the work of the Central Relief Committee is going in different far-off places and unless the agents or representatives of the Central Relief Committee have sufficient money on hand they cannot begin work. Still as you say this matter requires more close attention. But unless you arrange for it, sometimes the workers feel that full justice is not done to them and to the work that they are putting in. That has been the feeling of the workers who are working in the Central Relief Committee. Of course this must be talked over personally and not written in letters.

There is another matter also, namely, about the Shanti Dal which requires your attention and some definite direction. Mridulaben may write to you in this connection and perhaps would ask for your permission to see you at Pilani. I would have liked myself to come with her, but my previous engagements do not allow me to do so. Still I would write to you in detail about it when I return from Jullundur and before I leave for Bombay.

I hope, as you say in your letter, your health will improve rapidly. You must have received the letter from Sardarji about the Presidentship of Jaipur Congress. I only hope that you will give serious and sympathetic consideration to the matter. As we have sufficiently talked about it I need not trouble you more. I am sure you will do what you think proper.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Enclosure:

(Proceedings of a meeting of the Working Committee of the Central Relief Committee held on 2 September 1948)

सेंट्रल रिलीफ कमेटी के कार्यकारिणी समिति की बैठक तारीख 2.9.1948 की शाम के 6 बजे 7, जन्तर मन्तर रोड (दफतर) में हुई। निम्नलिखित सदस्य उपस्थित थे।

1. श्री डा० चोइथराम गिडवानी
2. श्री दिवाण मंजूराम गांधी
3. श्री रामदेव ठाकुर
4. श्री श्रीकृष्णदास जाजू
5. श्री रामाधार जी

(1) पिछली 26.8.1948 की सभा में प्रस्ताव न० 2 में कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीयां चलाने के संबंध में जो प्रस्ताव हुआ उस पर विचार हुआ। निश्चय हुआ कि किंगसवे कैम्प और पुराना किला कैम्प इन दोनों जगह जो कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीयां कायम हुई हैं, उनमें कोई वास्तविकता नहीं है और उनके मार्फत हमारी समिति काम नहीं कर सकती। इसलिये इन सोसायटी से सेंट्रल रिलीफ कमेटी अपना संबंध न रखे।

(2) हर जगह जो उद्योग चलते हैं, उनके बारे में चर्चा हुई और हर जगह व्यवस्था खर्च कितना होना चाहिए इस पर विचार किया। तय हुआ कि श्री जाजूजी, श्री रामदेव बाबू और श्री सोवनीजी हर एक उद्योग का तफसील देख कर इस बारे में योग्य और उचित सुझाव पेश करें।

(3) पंजाब रिलीफ फंड से समिति के चालू खर्च के लिए रकम न मिलने के कारण जो आर्थिक उपस्थित हुई है, उसके बाबत विचार हुआ। तय हुआ कि कमेटी का पक्का हिसाब जलदी से जलदी तैयार करके आडिट करा लिया जाय। जैसा कि पहले निर्णय हो चुका है। इसके अलावा यह भी निर्णय हुआ कि आगे के लिए खर्च मिलने की सुव्यवस्था की दृष्टि से बड़ी कमेटी की बैठक बुलाई जाय और इसमें उसका विचार किया जाय। इस सम्बन्ध में श्री रामाधारभाई, श्री राजेन्द्रबाबू से तिथि और समय मांग लें ताकि उनकी सुविधा के अनुसार कमिटी की बैठक हो सके।

(4) श्रीमान् गिडवानी जी ने अभी अगस्त माह में विकानेर और चरोडा का दौरा किया। उस समय उन्होंने डा० हिरानन्दजी को तीन जगह बरोडा, राजकोट और नासिक, झोनल आर्गानायझर की नियुक्तियां करने के लिए कहा था। डा० हिरानन्दजी ने यह नियुक्तियां की हैं। वास्तव में ऐसी नयी नियुक्तियां सेंट्रल अफिस से मंजूरी लेकर ही करनी चाहिए। सब को यह इत्तिला दी जाय कि आगे ऐसी नियुक्तियां न हो। अब इन तीनों जगह जो झोनल आर्गानायझर कायम किये हैं उनकी नियुक्ति अस्थायी तौर पर कमेटी मंजूर करती है। पक्का निर्णय बड़ी कमेटी के बैठक के बाद ही होगा।

(5) गुडगांव में श्री जगरूपजी खादी का काम कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने वहां स्थानिक कुछ बहनों को तैयार किया है। अब उनमें से दो बहने हमारे काम में मदद करने के लिये: कुमारी द्वौपदी और कुमारी कौशल्या: मासिक रूपया 15 पर नियुक्त किया जाय। तीन महिने बाद उनका काम संतोषजनक होने पर 30 रुपया वेतन दिया जाय।

(6) करनाल कैम्प में अध्यापिका का कार्य करने वाली बहनों को नियुक्त किये हुए दिन से जबतक उनकी तनख्ता नहीं दी है, तबतक का वेतन मासिक 30 रुपये के हिसाब से पिछला पूरा हिसाब देखकर दिया जाय। अब अगर उस कैम्प में कोई शिक्षाकेन्द्र हमारा चलता हो तो उसे बंद किया जाय।

(7) हमेशा हमारी यह नीति रही है कि किसी भी शैक्षणिक कार्य में हमारी आर्थिक मदद न रहे। हमारे

उस नीति में अवतक कोई परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है। अगर अवतक किसी जगह शैक्षणिक कार्य के लिए मदद दी जाती हो तो वह बंद की जाय। केवल वे मामले छोड़कर कि जिसके लिए इस कार्यकारिणी समिति ने अपने प्रस्ताव से मंजूरी दी है।

(8) तिहाड़ के कार्यकर्ता चरखा केन्द्र चलाने के लिए एक योजना दी है। इस पर निर्णय हुआ कि श्री रामदेव बाबू तिहाड़ जाकर देखे और वहां एक वस्त्रस्वावलंबन प्रचार केन्द्र अपने कमेटी द्वारा शुरू करें, और वहां एक कार्यकर्ता नियुक्त करें।

(9) देहली में भी सेन्ट्रल कमेटी द्वारा वस्त्रस्वावलंबन प्रचार केन्द्र चलाया जाय। इसलिए भी एक कार्यकर्ता मुकर्र किया जाय।

(10) जहां जहां कार्यकर्ताओं को पूरा कार्य न हो, वहां से कार्यकर्ता हटाये जाय, और जो कार्यकर्ता उचित कार्य न होने के कारण खाली रहते हों उन्हें मुक्त किया जाय।

93. From Jawaharlal Nehru

No. 1315-P.M.

New Delhi
The 22nd September 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

There has been a growing feeling among many people that I have met both here and in Bombay, and including a large number of members of the Constituent Assembly, that the question of creation of new linguistic Provinces is likely to give us a lot of trouble if persisted in the near future. I entirely agree with this. But I do not quite know what to do about it. The Enquiry Commission you appointed, to my surprise, is functioning in public and thereby encouraging an atmosphere of argument and passion. I had hoped that the Commission would not hold public sessions. Is it possible to do anything in this matter now?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

94. To Vallabhbhai Patel

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur
September 22nd, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just received your letter dated the 19th September 1948 and have wired

to you that I am writing. I do not know why it should take four days for a letter written on the 19th to reach here on the 22nd. But it does. I do not know when this letter will reach you.

I am writing to the A.I.C.C. to refer all Parliamentary Board matters to you. I know the difficulties which are enhanced to some extent by the constitution but you have to do the best you can in the circumstances. I am thankful for your relieving me of this burden. I hope your health will stand the strain. For the last three or four days, there has been considerable improvement in my health. I hope now the progress will be maintained and I shall be able to gain strength soon.

As regards the Presidentship of the Congress, I told you my own feelings in the matter. I have felt that I have not been able to do justice to the work entrusted to me, very largely on account of my ill health which has somehow or other persisted ever since I took over charge. I do not know how it will behave hereafter and it was for this reason that I felt that I should not take this burden on me again. I have also a feeling that we should let other people now come and take responsibility. People may not express it and many may not even feel it but there is no doubt that in the minds of some at least there is a feeling that other people do not get a chance and governmental as well as Congress authority remained concentrated in a few hands. I thought it will be wise not to disregard or minimise the effect of this sentiment. Considering all these things, I have been looking forward to a period of rest after the work of the Constituent Assembly is finished. I had a talk with Shankarraoji and also with Dr. Pattabhi and have told them that my decision was not to stand for the Presidentship. Dr. Pattabhi has also written to me a letter basing upon that conversation and asking for my support to his candidature. Shankarraoji, of course, insisted even then that I should stand. I feel that the Congress organisation requires careful and constant handling. I can see conflicts not only amongst Congressmen divided into groups in a Province but in the Congress Committee on the one hand and the Congress Government on the other. In some cases the conflict is solved either by the Congress Committee getting the upper hand and the Government changing or, as more often happens, by the Ministry being able to influence the composition of the Congress executive and practically running the Congress organisation also. I do not think, either position is satisfactory. It is a matter for consideration which we have not been able to give to the subject what the relation between the Congress organisation and the Government should be. We are sometimes apt to think that the Congress will remain in power in the Provinces always and an effort is made to arrogate powers to Provincial Committees or vice versa. There is a real risk for the future if the Congress organisation gets identified with the Government or rather the Government gets identified with the Congress organisation. If it can happen in the case of the Congress, it can also happen in the case of any other party which may for the time being manage to get into majority and then that party will take the place of the Congress and the Government and the party will become identified. We have, therefore, to draw a line somewhere about the functions and the responsibility which the Ministry owes to the

Congress as apart from its responsibility to the legislature. This line is not clear and many difficulties arise. Whoever has to become the Congress President has therefore in the coming years to so run the organisation as to make it not only a capable organisation which will run the elections on adult franchise under the new Constitution but also take steps to remove the many grievances and complaints of which we hear so [much] . . . *. It will also require clear conception of the present and future of the Congress. Because I have felt that my health may not be able to stand the strain, I have expressed my unwillingness. I know it will be difficult to make a choice but that difficulty has to be faced somehow. Kindly consult Jawaharlalji in the matter. If you both still think that I should take the burden, I cannot say 'no' and so long as my body can work, it will be at your service. But personally speaking I very much wish to have relief.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

*Portion of letter illegible.

95. From N.V. Rajkumar

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref. 1.D/pub/5846

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
September 23, 1948

Revered Rashtrapati,

(1) I am sending you under separate cover one copy of my book *Indian Political Parties*. This is our latest publication. May I request you to go through it at your leisure and let me have your valued opinion.

(2) My next book *One Year of Freedom* is in the press. It is a review of the achievements of Congress Governments at the Centre and in the Provinces and will contain photographs of all ministers, messages from Prime Ministers, etc. It has been advertised on the back cover of the book, which I am sending you. Jugal Kishoreji has kindly agreed to write an introduction to the book. I shall feel honoured if you could contribute a suitable foreword. I know how busy you are and what strain you are undergoing. Nevertheless, I hope you would not disappoint us. There is no hurry about it and you may write something conveniently. The book will be ready within about a month. I am writing to you

beforehand so that our Publication Department may make the necessary announcement.

(3) I am enclosing herewith for your kind perusal a newspaper clipping which gives a report of the meeting of the East African Indian Congress. There is an interesting reference to your message which I have underlined.

I hope you are doing well.

With pranams,

Yours sincerely,
N.V. Rajkumar
Secretary, Foreign Department

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Congress President
Chandra Bhawan
Camp: Pilani (Jaipur).

Enclosure not included.

96. To G.V. Mavalankar

Camp: Pilani
(Rajasthan Union)
23rd September 1948

My dear Shri Mavalankar,

I have received your D.O. No. 6748/49A dated the 21st instant drawing my attention to the resolution of the Conference of all the Presiding Officers of Legislatures of Provinces, States and States' Unions in India regarding the preparation of a common terminology of constitutional, legal and other kindred terms. You may have noticed that the Constituent Assembly has passed a resolution authorising me to get a Hindi translation of the Constitution published under my authority and my certificate before the 26th January and also to get translations in other major languages of India prepared and published as speedily as possible. As you are aware, the work of Hindi translation has made headway. A translation of the original draft was prepared by a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Shri Ghanshyam Singh Gupta. Since then the Draft Constitution has itself undergone a considerable change and revision of that translation has for this and also for other reasons become necessary. I accordingly appointed a Committee of Experts again under the Chairmanship of Shri Ghanshyam Singh Gupta to revise the translation. Amongst its members I took scholars of repute whose opinion could be valuable. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, a distinguished philologist and Professor of the Calcutta University, Shri

Yashwantrao Date who has prepared a dictionary from English into Marathi of legal terms, Shri Jaychandra Vidyalankar, who has made a special study of Ancient Indian History and published some works of great value in the Hindi language, Shri M. Satyanarayan, who speaks Telugu but knows some of the other South Indian languages and who has been in charge of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha of Madras for many years, and Shri Rahul Sankrityayan who was the President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at the time the appointment was made and who is a scholar of repute. They have been revising the translation and have practically revised or retranslated almost all the articles of the Constitution that have been so far adopted in the second reading. When I made this appointment I had only in view the Hindi translation but I felt even at that stage that it would be a great advantage if we could evolve a constitutional and legal terminology which could be generally accepted by other languages of India also. It was for this reason that I took care to have scholars who could speak with some authority for other languages also and utilise to the extent it was found possible and necessary expressions used in ancient Indian and in Sanskrit literature generally. I had appointed Professor Mujib of the Jamia Millia so that expressions in current use derived from Persian or Arabic might also be utilised but unfortunately he could not see eye to eye with other members of the Committee and resigned. I understand that the aim of the Committee has been to use expressions which will be acceptable to other languages also.

Since then the Constituent Assembly has passed certain articles adopting Hindi as the official language of the Union and authorising a State to adopt any of the languages in use in it or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for official purposes in that State. It has also in another connection mentioned 14 languages as the languages prevalent in different parts of the country. English will be used for fifteen years within which time, it is hoped, Hindi will be in a position to take its place for all-India purposes. It has, therefore, become all the more necessary to have a legal and constitutional terminology which will, as far as possible, be common to all the major languages of India so that Bills and other measures passed by State Legislatures and the Parliament may use the same terms to express the same meaning. I have, therefore, taken steps to convene a conference of experts in the various languages which would be asked to evolve a terminology which will be common to all the major languages so far as the constitutions and legal concepts are concerned. I am requesting the various Provincial and State and Union Governments to send two names of such experts to represent each language that is current in their respective areas. I propose to have this conference towards the end of October if we can get the names in time. A list of English expressions used in the Draft Constitution is also being sent to the Provincial Governments to furnish the conference with equivalents for those words in current use in their respective languages. I have for the present confined this to the terms used in the Constitution for the reason that the Hindi translation has to be published before the 26th January and the other translations as speedily as possible. I was also not aware of the resolution of the Conference of Presiding

Officers of Legislatures to which you have made a reference. But it will be easy to extend the terms of reference so as to include not only the expressions used in the Constitution but also other expressions which may be required to be used by Legislatures and generally in law.

I am afraid on account of the shortness of time it will not be possible to consult the Legislatures before the terminology is finalised for the purposes of the translation of the Constitution. But I am going to send out to the Presiding Officers of the Legislatures copies of the list of English expressions with a request that they might also furnish the conference with their equivalents in the languages in use in their jurisdiction. I may ask the conference to take up the larger work suggested by your conference after this work is done or if I find that it can be conveniently and expeditiously done simultaneously with it. I have not got any list of other English expressions outside those used in the Constitution ready at present and that may involve delay which will have to be avoided if the resolution of the Constituent Assembly has to be implemented in time. But the conference certainly may be asked to continue its work and complete it as desired by your conference.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Shri G.V. Mavalankar.

97. *To P. Chakraverti*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
September 24, 1948

My dear Mr. Chakraverti,

Sometime ago, Mr. Konda Venkatappayya and certain other persons made complaints against the Madras Ministry and those complaints were sent by the Congress President to the Prime Minister, Madras, for his report. They (the Madras Government) in reply sent very voluminous reports, which the office was asked to examine and send a note to the President for consideration. As the matter has again been referred to in one of the letters of the Prime Minister, the President has directed me to request you to kindly expedite the matter and send the reports together with the office note to him for consideration, at an early date.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

98. *To Jugal Kishore*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
September 24, 1948

My dear Jugal Kishoreji,

I have received two letters from Shankarrao Deo. As he would have left for Maharashtra before this reaches you, I am writing to you instead of to him.

I had written to Sardar Vallabhbhai to take up the Parliamentary work as I am unable to attend to it on account of my ill health. He has kindly agreed. So kindly forward to him papers relating to Parliamentary Board and instruct our office to take instructions from him. You may from time to time see him in this connection, if necessary.

Shankarrao had written to me about a letter which Mr. Naravane had addressed to me. I am replying to him direct, enclosing a copy of my reply.*

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Acharya Jugal Kishoreji.

*See Dr. Rajendra Prasad's letter to Dr. T.R. Naravane, dated 24 September 1948.

99. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
September 24, 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have just received your letter No.1309-P.M., dated the 21st September 1948, in which you have referred to a pamphlet sent to you by Syt. Konda Venkatappayya containing charges against the Madras Ministry. I have not seen the pamphlet but I received a number of complaints from Shri Konda Venkatappayya and some others and referred them all to the Madras Ministry for their reply. They have sent a very voluminous reply which was received sometime ago in the A.I.C.C. office. The general effect of these replies which are being studied there is that they repudiate the charges. As the documents are

voluminous, I could not study them all myself and I have asked the office to prepare a note for consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
1 Roberts Road, New Delhi.

100. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
September 24, 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

It is with considerable hesitation that I wish to write to you about Anand Mohan Sahay. I have been under the impression that you have been considering him for some suitable place in the foreign service. Many appointments have been made and are being made from time to time. I hope you will consider his case. From his experience and service in the past I think he fully deserves it.

I have to mention to you another name for consideration for one of the posts attached to foreign legations on the commercial side. This is Rajeshwari Prasad, who has been serving for many years successfully under the Tatas as one of their agents for organising sales in various parts of the country. He has considerable experience in that way and is qualified for a job in that line. I may incidentally mention that he is the younger brother of Syt. Jayaprakash Narayan.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
1 Roberts Road, New Delhi.

101. *To Dr. T.R. Naravane*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
September 24, 1948

Dear Friend,

I have your letter dated the 11th September 1948 in which you have asked for

guidance about the attitude of individual Congressmen and Congress Committees regarding the question of creation of new Provinces. As you have said in your letter, the Working Committee or the A.I.C.C. has not given any view on the question before the Commission that has been appointed by the Constituent Assembly regarding the creation of new Provinces and as it is the Commission is engaged in taking evidence to enable it to arrive at a conclusion which it will incorporate in its report. The question whether the vote of the majority in the party should be treated as a vote of the body itself is one which has been accepted more or less as a self-evident proposition by all parliamentary parties, in the legislatures and other bodies of the country, and individual members have consequently to vote according to the wishes of the majority of the party in the Assembly or municipal or other bodies even if these individuals do not accept the opinion of the majority. This has happened and has been happening on all questions which have been brought up before these bodies. The question of linguistic Provinces is one of such questions. It is, of course, open to the party to leave its individual members free, and personally speaking I should like to give that freedom to individual members in matters of controversial nature. But so far it has been left to the party to decide and we have not issued any instructions from the centre in this connection. I would therefore leave it to the party to decide whether it will allow its individual members in the meeting of the body, either legislative, municipal or other, to vote according to the individual opinion or in accordance with the mandate of the party.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

102. *From S.V. Gokhale*

Nagpur
25th September 1948

Respected Rajendra Prasadi,

Your letter, dated the 23rd August, from Camp Pilani to the Hon'ble the Premier Pandit Shuklaji was sent to me as I am in charge of Revenue Department. The intermediary interests between the Government and the tiller of the soil are being abolished in this Province as well. A draft Bill is almost ready for circulation. I am, however, waiting for the Report of the Agrarian Reforms Committee appointed by the Congress Working Committee to finalise my draft. The particular suggestion made in the letter under reference about maintaining the rights of temples or religious institutions intact in such cases is a most valuable suggestion and I will attend to it. I did realise that payment of cash may not in such cases fully compensate the religious institutions. Our present inclinations

are that Government should pay them annually their normal income on Government assuming final responsibility of the proprietary rights of Malguzars. However, when the draft is being considered in its final stages I shall remember your valuable suggestion and make any amendments, if necessary, with your consent. I feel thankful for the letter and the suggestion. I wish to add that it should be possible for me to consult, even at this stage, someone at the Congress Headquarters whom I need and should consult before I make my draft final. After all these Bills have an all-India value and it is better to seek advice at this stage than later. I feel grateful for the letter.

Yours sincerely,
S.V. Gokhale
Minister for Education & Revenue
Central Provinces

Hon. Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress.

103. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
September 26, 1948

Dear Sir,

I beg to forward herewith a report of the Standing Economic Committee of the All India Congress Committee, on the question of inflation for the consideration of the Government.*

Yours faithfully,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble the Prime Minister, India
New Delhi.

*See enclosure to K. Mitra's letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad dated 5 September 1948.

104. *From K. Ramakrishnan*

PRIME MINISTER'S SECRETARIAT, INDIA

No. 2 (144)/49-PMS

New Delhi
26th September 1948

Dear Sir,

The bill in respect of the Silver Tray, which was presented to Lord and Lady Mountbatten on the 20th June 1948, with the signatures of Governors and Ministers inscribed thereon, has been received and I am desired to request you kindly to arrange early remittance by cheque, in favour of the undersigned, of the sum of Rs.75 (Rupees seventy-five), as your contribution towards the cost.

Yours truly,
K. Ramakrishnan
Asstt. Private Secy.

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

105. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
27th September 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd September 1948.
I am sending herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from Jawaharlal.* You will see that he would also like you to stand and would be glad if you could continue as Congress President, provided you think that your health will be able to stand the strain, and that you should undertake this heavy burden at this critical juncture. My own view is that it would be demonstrably in the interests of the country as a whole if you could persuade yourself to continue as Congress President. Frankly speaking, I cannot think of any other suitable alternative. Do please let me know by telegram what you finally decide.

I got a letter from the Premier of Madras sending me a copy of the resolutions passed by the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. The resolutions amount to

interference in the day-to-day administration of the Government, but in view of the delicacy of relations between him and the Ministers I have sent for him for a personal discussion in Delhi.

I hope your health is now better and that Pilani is doing you good. With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

P.S. You referred in your first letter to Bihar affairs. Shankarrao promised to bring all the papers to me, but he has been mostly on the move nor has he left with me any complaint or any evidence which he said he had. He has now gone to Maharashtra and I do not know when he will come back. As soon as I get all the papers, I shall look into this matter.

Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
Camp: Pilani.

*See Jawaharlal Nehru's letter to Vallabhbhai Patel, dated 25 September 1948, in Correspondence—Part II.

106. *From A. V. Pai*

PRIME MINISTER'S SECRETARIAT

No. 32/48/48-PMS

New Delhi
28th September 1948

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

Please refer to your letter to the Prime Minister No. CA/214/Estd/48, dated 10.7.48, regarding the staff of the Constituent Assembly Secretariat and the Prime Minister's reply 990/PM of 11th July.

Replies have been received from the Ministry of Law, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Prime Minister has asked me to convey to you the result of these discussions. The Ministry of Law suggested that instead of creating a nucleus organisation of the future Upper House here and now, that Ministry might be so expanded as to take in, as a first step, those officers who were being offered permanent jobs elsewhere and whose

services could not be spared by the Constituent Assembly Secretariat. It was suggested that they could be confirmed in the Ministry of Law and shown as on deputation to the Constituent Assembly. They would, after the passing of the Constitution, revert to the Law Ministry to form part of the special 'Constitution Branch' in that Ministry and would continue to deal with questions relating to the bringing into force of the new Constitution. Ultimately, they could be drafted to the Upper House Secretariat when it is set up or kept in the Ministry of Law as circumstances may require. The remaining persons in the list, sent with your letter, i.e., other than the Joint Secretary, the Under Secretary and the Superintendent in charge of the Draft Constitution may be given an assurance that every effort will be made to fix them permanently in the Secretariat of the Upper House when it is set up or in the Ministry of Law. The Home Secretary is in agreement and it is understood that posts have already been created in the Law Ministry to absorb the three officers in question. The immediate difficulty, pointed out in your letter, is thus obviated.

The Ministry of Finance are not agreeable to the setting up of a nucleus organisation of the Upper House right now. In the light of the views put forward by the Ministry of Finance, namely, that the creation of permanent posts for a Secretariat of the Upper House, which has not yet come into being, would be rather anomalous and that if and when the Upper House is formed the details of staff should be worked out at that stage and that in the initial stages the posts will, as usual, be only on a temporary basis, it has not been possible to meet satisfactorily the proposal in the last paragraph of your letter of the 10th July. It is presumed, however, that your Secretariat will initiate and continue to hold discussions with the Ministry of Law with a view to ensure that the deserving members of your Secretariat staff are absorbed as far as possible in that Ministry, and further that such discussions will be quite fruitful.

I am passing on a copy of this letter to the Secretary, Ministry of Law.

Yours sincerely,
A.V. Pai

Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Constituent Assembly of India
New Delhi.

107. To Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
September 28, 1948

My dear Sir,

I wrote to you from Delhi and I hope my letters have reached you. I came away

to Pilani again on the 11th and propose to stay here till about the 20th of October. The climate now is ideal here for me, quite dry during the day and night and it is getting refreshingly cool at night. I am now free from asthma spasm at present and although there is some slight cough, I hope I shall get over it very soon. I hope the printing of the Memorandum is by now completed and I am looking forward to seeing it in print. I hope something has been decided about its presentation to the Central Government.

We have had very quick and big developments during the last fortnight or so. The Hyderabad matter has taken everybody by surprise on account of its satisfactory ending. Although military action as such has now ended, I think it will take a little time to set things right there. But our people are going about the business with caution and thoroughness and I hope it will not be long before Hyderabad falls in line with all other States, and one source of anxiety disappears altogether. Our Government was slow in taking decision and action in this matter and there were all kinds of complaints and misgivings but I feel that the old Persian proverb has come true in this case particularly.

Yours affectionately,
Rajendra Prasad

P.S. After the above was dictated I got your letter dated the 20th September 1948 under registered cover. I am writing to the Hon'ble Sardar Partap Singh, Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, East Punjab, as I think, he being in charge of the Department will be able to attend to it more speedily than the Prime Minister. I am also enclosing a letter of introduction for him which Radhakrishna might take whenever he goes there. You will notice that I have mentioned in my letter to Sardar Partap Singh, a copy of which I am enclosing,* that Radhakrishna will be seeing him with a letter of introduction from me.

Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha
Patna.

*Not included.

108. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
September 29, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I was asked by Shri Khandubhai Desai to attend some conference or rally of

workers under our Indian National Trade Union Congress at Ahmedabad on the 25th October and I promised that health permitting I would attend it. So I propose to go there on the 25th October. On the 28th I have to reach Jubbulpore to fulfil an old standing engagement. I get one day extra at Ahmedabad and I want to utilise it, if possible, in connection with the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. But I do not know if I could do anything substantial by staying there for a day. So far as the mills are concerned, they are of course out of our purview as they are contributing to the Industrial Committee but I believe there is a large body of traders and others in Ahmedabad who would make good contribution but that requires some previous preparation. I should like to know if you think my stay there can be utilised for this purpose. I am writing to Shri Kanjibhai also and in case you think something can be done, you have to advise me how to proceed and you have to tell the people there to utilise my presence in this connection. If you think my presence is unnecessary, I would simply attend the labour function and go to Jubbulpore from there or return to Delhi for a day and go from Delhi to Jubbulpore. I shall be obliged for an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
1 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

109. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL
No. 1367-PM

New Delhi
September 29, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of September 24th.

For nearly a year now I have been anxious to utilise the services of Anand Mohan Sahay. In fact on two or three occasions I came near to appointing him. Always some difficulty arose or objection was made from a quarter which I could not ignore. I first thought of sending him to Japan but the people who were consulted in Japan did not favour this. Then I thought of Siam. Again difficulties arose. Indonesia was also considered but it was pointed out to me by people who know Indonesia and who know Anand Mohan Sahay that the appointment would not be suitable.

Because of Anand Mohan's association with Subhas Bose, it is difficult to send him to a number of countries where this association would not be approved of. There are some other reasons too which continually come in the way. So my colleagues in the Cabinet have raised objection whenever I have suggested his name.

You will appreciate my difficulty. For my part I would like to utilise his experience and I still hope to be able to do so but for the moment all expansion has been stopped.

This is for your private information only.

About Rajeshwari Prasad, I shall pass on the name to the Foreign Secretary. Such appointments hardly come within my ken. I rather think that there are no vacancies at present.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

110. *From M.O. Mathai*

New Delhi
30th September 1948

My dear President,

As directed by the Prime Minister, I enclose a statement of account of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund at the close of business 30th September 1948.

Yours sincerely,
M.O. Mathai
Secretary
Prime Minister's National Relief Fund

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S NATIONAL RELIEF FUND AS ON 30TH SEPTEMBER 1948

Particulars	Receipts Rs. As. Ps.	Expenditure Rs. As. Ps.
Balance carried over from the statement of 15th July 1948, placed before the Board of Trustees on 18.7.1948		Rs.11,06,772-2-6
Public contribution from 15th July 1948 to 30th September 1948		Rs.79,031-14-0
Return of advance from the Secretary, Ministry of R. & H.		Rs.10,000-0-0
Grant-in-aid to the United Council for Relief & Welfare (sanctioned by the Board of Trustees at its meeting on 18th July 1948)		Rs.50,000-0-0
Grant-in-aid to the Indian Cooperative Union Ltd., New Delhi (the Board of Trustees at its meeting of 18th July 1948 sanctioned Rs.10,000)		Rs.5,000-0-0
Grant-in-aid to Women's Section, Ministry of R. & H. (the Board of Trustees at its meeting on 18th July 1948 sanctioned Rs.25,000 for starting cooperative tailoring centre for destitute refugee women)		Rs.5,000-0-0
Grant-in-aid for U.P. flood sufferers (through the Premier, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant)		Rs.50,000-0-0
Grant-in-aid for relief work in West Bengal (through Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh)		Rs.50,000-0-0
Grant-in-aid for educational and other relief centres for children in Delhi (through Shri Shankar Prasad, Chief Commissioner)		Rs.10,000-0-0
Grant-in-aid for educational centres for children (through Dr. Zakir Hussain)		Rs.10,000-0-0
Grant-in-aid to Shri Mohanlal Saksena (Minister of State for R. & H.) for relief work		Rs.12,000-0-0
Grant-in-aid to Multipurpose Cooperative Refugee Agricultural Undertaking at Chatterpur		Rs.10,000-0-0
Grant-in-aid to Shri Rameshwari Nehru for relief work among destitute women in Meerut and Ghaziabad		Rs.10,000-0-0
Carried over	Rs.11,95,804-0-6	Rs.2,12,000-0-0

Particulars	Receipts Rs. As. Ps.	Expenditure Rs. As. Ps.
Brought forward	Rs.11,95,804-0-6	Rs.2,12,000-0-0
Grant-in-aid to the Liaison Officer of the United Council for Relief Work in Kashmir		
Grant-in-aid to Delhi Shanti Dal		Rs.2,000-0-0
Four sewing machines and allied equipment and accessories for refugees ordered before the last meeting of the Board of Trustees		Rs.1,500-0-0
Miscellaneous payments to individual refugees in utter distress		Rs.1,375-0-0
Allowance for clerk maintaining account of Prime Minister's National Relief Fund (for May, June, July, August and September 1948)		Rs.1,150-0-0
Total	Rs.11,95,804-0-6	Rs.2,18,275-0-0
Balances as per ledger		Rs.9,77,529-0-6
		Rs.11,95,804-0-6
		Rs.11,95,804-0-6

Note: The following amounts, which represent cheques under collection, have not been included in the above statement:
Rs.101; \$200.

M.O. Mathai
Secretary
Prime Minister's National Relief Fund
30.9.48

111. To Shankarao Deo

Camp: Pilani
 Jaipur State
 October 1, 1948

My dear Shankarao,

After you left, I was asked by Sardar to reconsider my previous decision, in which he had also concurred, not to stand for Congress Presidentship. I find that my health has become so uncertain that it may not be possible for me to stand the heavy strain that Presidentship in the coming year must necessarily involve. I feel that I have not been able to do justice to myself and to friends who put me in charge of this organisation when Kripalanji resigned. It has been very largely due to my bad health that I have not been able to undertake any tours which was necessary, nor have I given as much time to the office as I should have done. As a matter of fact, I have not been able to attend even important meetings of the Working Committee. Although, at the present moment I am feeling better, I do not know if this spell of good luck is going to last long. I have therefore felt that in fairness to the country, I should not undertake this responsibility any more.

But apart from this I have had another consideration also. I have felt that so far as the South is concerned, it has a just grievance that it does not get the recognition that it ought to in the Congress for its service. So far as I know, there have been only four Presidents in the Congress from the South and of these three are from Tamil Nadu, namely, Shri Anand Charulu, Shri Vijayaraghavacharya, and Shri Srinivasa Iyengar, and one Shri Shankaran Nair from Kerala. Andhra has had no chance up till now. I have therefore felt that it would be good if we could have Dr. Pattabhi as the President for the next session of the Congress. Besides, I have received a telegram from Madras, requesting that I should support Dr. Pattabhi's candidature which is being supported by the Presidents of all the seven Provincial Congress Committees, namely, Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Cochin, Mysore and Travancore. If I were to stand and if all these friends, either out of regard for me or out of regard for other friends, would like to see me elected and withdraw their support from Dr. Pattabhi and my election were to become unanimous, I should not still like to have that kind of unanimous election because it would not represent their true feeling which has been expressed by their support to Dr. Pattabhi's candidature. I would, therefore, beg you to excuse me. But I have to make another request also. And that is that you should let Dr. Pattabhi get elected unopposed. I feel that unless you all friends, who are already nominated, do not allow this, the contest might take the form of a contest between the South on the one hand and North and West on the other. Such a contest, I consider, will be very harmful in the present conditions of the country. I would not therefore like it to happen. My appeal therefore to you is not to press your own candidature. I am writing to Dr. Prafulla Ghosh also and propose to write to Tandonji also. Not that I have no

respect for you all friends or that I may not welcome any of you who is elected, but considering the fact that this contest is not desirable, I have ventured to make this appeal to you.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri Shankarrao Deo
3 Electric Lane
New Delhi.

112. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
October 1, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

After several unsuccessful attempts, I could get you on the phone only this morning and I promised to write to you about the presidential election. I think, I made a mistake in throwing the burden on you and Jawaharlalji to say if I should stand as a candidate in spite of my ill health. Jawaharlalji is, I think, quite right in leaving it to me to decide whether my ill health will permit me or not. He will of course like that I should continue but does not like to throw on me the burden if my health does not permit it. As I told you and wrote to you on the very first occasion, I am feeling very uncertain about my health. It has been a source of continuous trouble to me for the past several months, and I have not been able to do justice to the work which was entrusted to me either as President of the Congress or as Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. I feel this very strongly and do not like therefore to take the responsibility once again which I may not be able to discharge. I would, therefore, beg of you to excuse me.

But as I wrote to you, there is another consideration also. I said that I have a feeling that there were people who would like that opportunity should be given to others to take this responsibility. That has now become clear. I have received a telegram from Madras in which an appeal has been made to me to support Dr. Pattabhi's candidature, whose candidature is supported by the Presidents of the Provincial Congress Committees of the seven South Indian Provinces, namely, Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Cochin, Mysore and Travancore, the last three being States which have now the status of Congress Provinces. I think that I shall be forcing myself on these Provinces if out of regard for me they were to withdraw their support from Dr. Pattabhi and transfer it to me if I remain a candidate and I do not like that kind of election if it becomes unanimous in this way. Besides, I have a feeling that it might become a controversy between the

North and the South which should be avoided. I have high regards for Tandonji but I would request him also to let Andhra have a chance this year as, so far as I recollect, no Andhra has ever become a President of the Congress during its long history of 63 years. Its contribution to Congress cause has been considerable and if there is a feeling in that Province that an Andhra should be elected President, it is quite intelligible. South as a whole has contributed very considerably to the Congress success but so far as Presidentship of the Congress is concerned, there have been, so far as I remember, only four Presidents so far, three of them being Tamilians, namely, Shri Anand Charulu, Shri Vijayaraghavacharya, and Shri Srinivasa Iyengar, and one Shri Shankaran Nair from Kerala. There has been only one President from the South, namely, Shri Srinivasa Iyengar during the last 27 years after Nagpur, which may be regarded as a period in which we have been associated. I would, therefore, have much liked that Shri Pattabhi should be brought in. I have great respect for Tandonji but I fear that if he remains in the field, it will become a dispute between the North and the South, which will be very harmful in the present condition of the country. I am therefore anxious to avoid this contingency and am prepared to make a personal request to Tandonji and the other two friends, whose names have so far come out, to let Dr. Pattabhi come uncontested. I do not wish to take any part in the canvassing for one candidate or another apart from writing private letters to the candidates themselves, with what effect, I do not know. It is very difficult for me to disregard anything that you say and it is not without much hesitation and cogitation that on this occasion I feel compelled to ask you to excuse me. I hope you will not mind this.

I may tell you also that I do not anticipate any kind of difficulty from Dr. Pattabhi. I feel assured that he will be very considerate and reasonable and I say this on the strength of what he himself has written to me. I have no doubt in my mind that he will give none of us cause to regret his election.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi.

113. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

2 October 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Thank you for your letter of 1 October which I received this morning.

Apart from considerations of merit and the requirements of the Congress at this critical juncture, my purpose in asking you to stand was to save ourselves from the embarrassment in which we are bound to find ourselves in the face of competing claims from our colleagues. I cannot press you further. If your decision stands, then I am afraid we shall have to face the music.

But I feel that once you have decided to stand out, the best policy is not to take any part direct or indirect in favour of any candidate. They are all colleagues of ours. They must be all preparing their own ground for a contest. To ask any one of them to withdraw is likely to be misconstrued as preference for this or that man. I am sure you will appreciate that, when all of them are our colleagues, this sort of impression of discrimination would not be good.

Nor do I think that for such a great position of honour as that of the President of the Indian National Congress we should import any provincial or regional considerations. It should be left to the electorate to decide who among the competing candidates should have that distinction. It would be short-sighted either to assume or to encourage the idea that it would resolve itself into a struggle between the North and the South. As far as I know, we have never approached this most momentous problem from the point of provincial or regional considerations, and I do not see why we should anticipate that it would necessarily result in such approach or it would lead to a conflict between North and South.

You are probably not aware that another candidate has entered the list, i.e. Kripalani. I understand that he has written to Jawaharlal apologising for his conduct in criticising Government and taking an anti-Government stand before the A.I.C.C. I cannot vouchsafe for it, but that is what I have heard. I also hear that he has stood at the suggestion of Kidwai who has been working behind the scenes.

Lastly, even though you may be writing private letters to the various contestants, it is inevitable that these private letters would be made public and would be exploited. A position would be created when ultimately you would have to speak in public to explain your stand. I would advise you to do nothing which would compel you to take that step.

In all these circumstances, my sincere advice to you would be to keep entirely aloof, if once you decide that you should not yourself stand. That is, in my opinion, the best and the wisest policy, but of course it is for you to decide ultimately what you should do.

I hope your health is now better. That should be your primary consideration. With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Pilani.

114. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
3rd October 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th September 1948.

It is difficult to say what you can do at Ahmedabad. People's minds and energies are preoccupied with the threatened famine. I am, however, writing to Khandubhai, and he will tell you if anything is to be done.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Camp: Pilani, Jaipur.

115. *To Jugal Kishore*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
October 4, 1948

My dear Jugal Kishoreji,

After you had left, I thought over the question of the method of voting and counting of votes in the forthcoming election of the President of the Congress. I have already written to you that it seems to me necessary that all the voting papers should be brought to one place and counted there. That one place can obviously be the A.I.C.C. office. If the votes are counted separately in different Provinces, then each Province will find a particular person elected according to the votes in that Province and if we go Province by Province then the person who is elected by the largest number of Provinces will become the President. This will obviously be wrong because there are large Provinces and small Provinces and their value becomes equal. It is therefore necessary to get all the voting papers to Delhi and count them all together and then decide the result. It is therefore necessary to issue certain instructions which must be clear to all Provincial Committees for conducting the election. I suggest the following draft which you may consider in consultation with Shankarrao Deo and whoever else may be available there and issue.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Acharya Jugal Kishore
Secretary, A.I.C.C.
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(Draft Rules)

1. Each Provincial Congress Committee should get ready voting papers with the names of all proposed candidates typed or printed on them with a column leaving space against each name for marking preferences by the voter. The name of the Provincial Congress Committee should be given at the top and each voter should be asked to put down his vote against the name of the candidates marking 1, 2, 3 and so on according to his preference of the candidate.
2. Every voter should mark his preference against at least three names if there are three or more candidates. Any voting paper, when there are three or more candidates, with preference marks against less than three persons shall be invalid.
3. The President at the meeting will hand over a voting paper to each voter and put down his initials against the name of the particular voter in the list of voters. A box with a slit will be provided by the Provincial Congress Committee. The box will be opened and shown to the members at the meeting and locked and sealed by the President with his seal at the meeting before the voting commences. Each voter, after marking the voting paper, will put the paper into the box through the slit.
4. The Provincial Congress Committee will ...* up the box in ...* or cloth and after sealing it send the box to the office of the A.I.C.C. so as to reach it on the (at the latest).
5. The President of the meeting will forward in a separate sealed cover the voting list which will show the initials against the names of the voters who have voted as laid down in paragraph 3 above with a ...* of the proceedings.
6. The counting of votes will take place at the office of the A.I.C.C. on by tellers who will be appointed by the President of the Congress. Any delegate who wishes to be present at the counting will be allowed to do so. The tellers will make a report to the President, who will announce the result.
7. The voting papers will be preserved till the forthcoming session of the Congress.

*Words missing.

116. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

Chandra Bhawan
Pilani
4 October 1948

HONBLE PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
PRIME MINISTER
NEW DELHI

YOU CARRY WITH YOU THE FULLEST CONFIDENCE AND BEST WISHES OF THE

NATION FOR THE SUCCESS OF YOUR MISSION TO EUROPE STOP MY BEST PRAYERS
FOR SAFE JOURNEY AND RETURN

RAJENDRAPRASAD

117. *From Jugal Kishore*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref. G-62/6183

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
5th October 1948

Respected Babuji,

I have issued the following circular to the Presidents of the P.C.C.s regarding the procedure for the election of the President of the Congress.

Both Shankarraoji and myself realised the necessity of getting the ballot boxes here to do the counting in view of the procedure laid down in the constitution. It will, of course, delay the announcement of the result in case there are more than two candidates contesting. As I was writing this letter I have just received your letter regarding this matter. The circular referred to above contains all these instructions. I should like to know whether any further instructions need to be issued.

Shankarraoji will most probably be visiting Pilani in a day or two.

Respectfully yours,
Jugal Kishore
General Secretary

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Chandra Bhawan
Camp: Pilani.

Enclosure:

(Circular No. 65, dated 5 October 1948, issued by Jugal Kishore, General Secretary, A.I.C.C., to the Presidents of all P.C.C.s)

Dear Friend,

I am sending herewith a copy of the Press Note which I issued last night containing the statement regarding the names of candidates who have been duly proposed for the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress. The last date for the withdrawal of names is the 15th of October. After we have received the

withdrawals an announcement will be made regarding the remaining candidates. The date for election, in case there is a contest, has been fixed for the 24th of October 1948.

I would like to draw your attention to Article XVI, clauses (d), (e) and (f), of the Congress constitution regarding the election of the President. According to the procedure laid down in the clauses, in case there are more than two candidates, it will be necessary for your office to issue necessary instructions to the delegates. This procedure is a new one in the present constitution. It has been introduced to ensure that the person, who is to be elected President, secures an absolute majority of the delegates participating in the elections. If there are more than two candidates, unless the procedure proposed was followed, there was a possibility that no one candidate could secure absolute majority which would have necessitated the calling of the P.C.C. again to reconsider the matter. It is to obviate this necessity of calling another meeting of the P.C.C. that the delegates voting have to state their preference in the order in which they would like to exercise their choice. If in the first counting no one secures absolute majority, then the candidate who secures the least number of votes will be eliminated and the second preferences given by those voters who gave the eliminating candidate their first preference, will be counted and added up to the votes of the remaining candidates. If by this process also no one secures absolute majority then out of the remaining candidates one who secures the least number of votes will be eliminated, and so on. These instructions have to be explained to the delegates when they assemble to elect the President.

In case there are more than two candidates in the field, it is proposed to send the ballot papers from the Head Office with the names of the candidates noted on it and these ballot papers will be numbered and they will be distributed to the individual voters as is done in ordinary voting at the elections. The ballot boxes, in which the voting papers will be cast, will be properly sealed and sent to the Head Office for purposes of counting. A statement of the members present and voting, and any objections that may have been raised and recorded, should be sent in a sealed envelope along with the ballot boxes, preferably through a messenger. The President of the P.C.C. should act as a Returning Officer for the purposes of conducting the election of the President. Voting of course will be by secret ballot. Necessary arrangements have to be made to ensure secrecy of voting and for the proper identification of delegates.

Yours sincerely,
Jugal Kishore
General Secretary

(Copy of Press Note, dated 4 October 1948, issued by Jugal Kishore,
General Secretary of the A.I.C.C.)

The following names have been received duly proposed by the requisite

number of delegates for the Presidentship of the next session of the Indian National Congress:

1. Dr. Rajendra Prasad;
2. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya;
3. Acharya J.B. Kripalani;
4. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh;
5. Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandon; and
6. Sjt. Shankarrao Deo.

The last date for receiving withdrawal of names at the A.I.C.C. office is the 15th of October 1948.

118. *From Jugal Kishore*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7 Jantar Mantar Road

New Delhi

5th October 1948

Respected Babuji,

Regarding my visit to Cachar, a letter was received by Sardar Patel from Mr. Bardoloi suggesting that my visit should be postponed as it might lead to the intensification of the agitation for separation of Cachar from Assam and is likely to give a handle to other opponents—the Communists and the Pakistanists—to inflame hatred. I was advised specially not to preside over the proposed Political Conference. It was Sardarji's advice that in view of the apprehension expressed by Mr. Bardoloi, it would be better if I cancel my visit.

I have accordingly done so. But the problem of Cachar, Manipur and Tipperah Hills still remain unsolved. The decision taken by the Working Committee at its last meeting on the recommendation of States Committee and of Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh for creating a separate Province for Congress work has been suspended. Unless we make it clear that the question will be taken up at the next meeting of the Working Committee and the parties concerned will be given an opportunity of making a representation to the Working Committee, our action may be suspected by those who are in favour of constituting a separate Congress Province and may lead to strife and bitterness between the differing sections.

I was rather reluctant to cancel my visit having given them to understand that I would be coming there. But realising the danger as pointed out by Mr. Bardoloi I have cancelled it.

A statement from you to the effect that the matter will be taken up at the next

meeting ought to reassure them that it has not been indefinitely postponed.

With kind regards,

Yours respectfully,
Jugal Kishore

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Chandra Bhawan
Pilani (Jaipur State).

119. *From Shankarrao Deo*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref. G-2/6215

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
6th October 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

On my return on the 4th I received your letter written on the 1st of October. As far as I am concerned there is no difficulty; still I have asked Prafulla Babu to come to Delhi. You must have seen that Kripalaniji's name has also been proposed. I had a talk with Sardarji. Kripalaniji has also met him separately. I propose to come to Pilani on the 8th by evening train. Transport arrangement from Loharu to Pilani will be done by Shri Hiralal Shastri who, along with Kamalnayanji and Gokulbhai, will also come to Pilani on the 9th. If Prafulla Babu also comes, I will request him to accompany me also. We can talk the whole matter at Pilani in the light of the developments up-to-date. There are many things which I would like to talk to you and of which, perhaps, you have no knowledge because you are out of Delhi.

I hope I will find you in good health.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Chandra Bhawan
Camp: Pilani.

120. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Aurangzeb Road
 New Delhi
 7th October 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Bipinbabu is coming to you to consult you about the advisability of his remaining in Bettiah State for any further period. I see no advantage in his continuing there as he is not able to do any good to the people there. Why should he be wasted there when we are short of men! He may as well be brought in the Constituent Assembly in any vacancy that may be caused hereafter.

2. Shankarrao Deo, Prafulla Babu and Jugal Kishore are all coming to you day after tomorrow. They are all opposed to Pattabhi and, therefore, they are not happy about your attitude. Both Shankarrao and Prafulla Babu have got your letters and they will not stand. The question is what we should do. You know both Jawaharlal and myself have agreed to remain neutral. You have taken another attitude. I do not think what you consider to be private letters can remain secret. A further complication has been created by Kripalani standing as a candidate. He had come to me yesterday. I have told him about our decision to remain neutral. It is a delicate matter and it seems he is anxious to stand. In his case his previous attitude resulting in his resignation may be a matter of some controversy.

3. I should await your decision in the matter although, whatever happens, it would not be right for me to change the attitude of neutrality.

Hope you are keeping fit.

Yours sincerely,
 Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
 Pilani.

121. *To Jugal Kishore*

Camp: Pilani
 Jaipur State
 October 7, 1948

My dear Jugal Kishoreji,

I have just received your letter dated the 3rd October about the representation



Dr. Rajendra Prasad with Vinoba Bhave and Jawaharlal Nehru



Dr. Rajendra Prasad with Vallabhbhai Patel and Abul Kalam Azad

made by Sri Satyadeo of Himachal Pradesh. There is no question of your not acting justly. You of course did what you thought best and proper but the position as it emerges is that the instructions which you had left have not been carried out. The Ad Hoc Committee should be treated as an ad hoc committee and not a substitute for a properly elected committee. The Ad Hoc Committee was appointed with the object of conducting elections but instead of doing that it has succeeded in entrenching itself and putting its President, Syt. Parmar, in all the important positions. He is, as stated in the accompanying representation, a member of the A.I.C.C., President of the Provincial Committee, Secretary of the Gandhi Nidhi, a member of the Advisory Committee, and a member of the Constituent Assembly. If he had been duly elected to all these places by a duly elected body, there was nothing wrong in it but as it is he has got all these positions because he is the head of the Ad Hoc Committee and that Ad Hoc Committee has not carried out the instructions which you had left for holding elections. It is this aspect of it which has been making me uneasy. I do not know what can be done to set things right but I cannot help concluding that this gentleman has managed to get an advantageous position because the Ad Hoc Committee itself was made by nomination which was, I doubt not, very largely on his suggestion. So the nomination of the delegates and the members of the regional committee to the Ad Hoc Committee now means only an addition of 3 persons who have not been there already. The objection is not to their inclusion but to the duly elected people being placed at a disadvantage by the Ad Hoc Committee comprising a majority of people who are not elected. I understand that the Ad Hoc Committee consisted originally of 13 members of whom three were the originally elected members of the regional committee and the remaining ten were nominated. The four or five members that you nominated were none of them elected and the three persons who are now added after Mr. Parmar has got all the positions mentioned above are the three originally elected persons. So even now the position is that the Committee consists of 20 members, namely, 13 of the original committee, four or five nominated by you and three, the remaining delegates, who are now added. Of these 20, six were originally elected and others are all nominated persons. If there had been no objection on the part of anybody, it would not have mattered but it is some of the elected members like Syt. Satyadeo who have been protesting from the very beginning. Mr. Bhagmal Sautha saw me only once and that was long before you visited Simla. So far as Mr. Parmar is concerned, I do not know if there is anything that can be done to displace him from all the places which he now occupies. So he should have no objection to reorganising the Committee in a regular way. There is no reason why the instructions which you had left should not be carried out even now and the whole committee reconstituted by election on the basis on which the last elections were held in 1947, immediately, (at the latest by the end of November,) under the supervision of a person deputed by the office of the A.I.C.C., by the same electoral college. Any subsequent organisation will not be recognised for this election. This will not disturb the delegates so far as the next session of the

Congress is concerned which of course the Gwalior delegates alone will attend.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Acharya Jugal Kishore
General Secretary, A.I.C.C.
New Delhi.

122. *From Balvantray Mehta*

PERSONAL

Rajkot
9th October 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Elections to the Saurashtra Constituent Assembly will take place on the 10th November. The G.P.C.C. Parliamentary Board has announced the names of the candidates who will stand on Congress ticket. The Congress is contesting every seat. Excluding 7 seats from Junagadh and one from Mangrol, where elections will take place at a later date, the Congress candidates have filed nomination papers for all the remaining 37 seats.

Shri Dhebarbhai, our Chief Minister, is being opposed by K.S. Indravijaysinghji of Jamnagar, Shreemati Bhakti laxmi Desai is being opposed by the Thakore Saheb of Dhrol; Shri Manubhai Shah, our Commerce and Industry Minister, is being opposed by the Thakore Saheb or Wadhwan; while the Home Minister, Shri Rasiklal Parikh, is contesting his seat against the uncle of the minor Thakore Saheb of Limbdi.

In all, there are 37 Congress candidates who are being opposed by the members of the Raj families, the Talukdars and Zamindars, members of the Hindu Mahasabha and of the newly started Lok-Paksha. The Congress, under the leadership of Darbar Shri Gopaldas Desai and Shri Dhebarbhai, is sure of success. It has organised election campaign on the strength of Congress Election Manifestoes of 1937 and 1945. We hope to win almost every seat and expect that deposits of many rival candidates will be forfeited.

I request you to help us in winning a cent per cent victory. Could you spare a couple of days to tour some of the constituencies? If so, please let us know your convenience for the same. If not, please send us at the earliest convenience an inspiring message to the electors of Saurashtra to vote for the Congress. 33 per

cent of the people have been registered on the Electoral Roll and a very keen contest is expected.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Balvantray Mehta

Babu Rajendra Prasad
Rashtrapati.

123. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
October 10, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Before I got your letter I had written to the three candidates whom I knew at the time but I had not written to Kripalaniji as I did not know for certain that he was going to stand as a candidate. I have been thinking over the matter ever since and particularly because you take a different view in the matter. But I feel that a contest between the North and the South will be most unfortunate and should be avoided at all costs. I have nothing personally against any of the other candidates and that aspect of the question has influenced me in asking the candidates to withdraw. I have done no more and propose to do no more but, as you say, it is possible that the thing may not remain a secret and may get published. I can only say that it will not be from my side.

As regards Kripalaniji, I am afraid there is an additional reason why he should not contest. He resigned because he took a definite attitude on account of the differences between him and the Central Cabinet and his attitude was not acceptable to the Cabinet and presumably to the A.I.C.C. which accepted his resignation. His election can only mean one of the two things: either that he has changed his attitude and is seeking re-election or that he is still of the old opinion and the Congress delegates elect him because they agree with him. The first is not good for him personally nor will it be in keeping with the dignity of the position of the Congress President and the second interpretation will not be good from the Government point of view. Nothing should be said or done which lends itself to the interpretation that there is some rift between the Congress, as represented by its head, the President, on the one hand, and the Central Cabinet on the other. I therefore think that he should not in any case stand and I am writing to him also to this effect. I do not know what view Tandonji will take as he has not replied to my letter yet. If he stands there will be a clear contest between him and Dr. Pattabhi, if the other three candidates withdraw. I do not like this contest at all

and my suggestion is that you should also use your influence so as to avoid this contest and not to allow the Southerners to have that feeling. A contest like this will be harmful from the point of view of the country and, after all, I do not think that there is anything so very serious against Dr. Pattabhi which should be allowed to cause a contest between the North and the South.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi.

124. *To Shankarrao Deo*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
The 12th October 1948

My dear Shankarrao,

The other day I gave you a set of questions which had been received anonymously, relating to what has generally come to be known as the molasses question in Bihar. I have not retained any copy of these questions. Kindly keep a copy in the office and send me one. You will of course make enquiries about them also. I have heard that the Government of India has also become interested in this matter and has probably appointed some officer of the Central Intelligence Department to look into this matter. The interest of the Government of India arises because part of the molasses given to factories for manufacturing power alcohol, in which Government of India is particularly interested, has been diverted in the way suggested in the aforesaid questions because they relate to the portions which were given to factories at Government price for special purpose and did not form part of the 10% of molasses left with the factories to be disposed of by them at their will. So it now appears that this molasses question has two aspects, one relating to the part of the 90% which was given to factories for the special purpose of producing alcohol of some form in which either the Provincial or the Central Government was interested and the other relating to the remaining 10% which was left to the factories to sell to whomsoever they liked and at a price they liked. All the previous questions probably related to the 10% and these questions relate to the other 90%. So when you go to Patna, you should look into the matter in respect of both. This letter is of course intended for you alone. You

will of course consult Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel about the matter and take his advice and instructions before going to Patna.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri Shankarrao Deo
General Secretary, A.I.C.C.
New Delhi.

125. *From Shankarrao Deo*

3 Electric Lane
New Delhi
12 October 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

We landed on the Willingdon aerodrome at quarter past six. We were in the air for 45 minutes. We met the party from Delhi at Loharu. Poor friends! They were all tired and for a minute wanted us to return to Pilani. But when we told them that as our main work was over it was not necessary for us to go back, they reconciled to our flying back and proceeded to Pilani.

In the plane I read the draft of the trust deed. Much of it is naturally legal which ordinarily is found in every such document. But some important things by their omission and some by their addition struck me, e.g.:

(1) On the first page it is said: "And whereas at a meeting held on the 10th February 1948 it was inter alia resolved to raise a fund and call the fund 'Gandhi Smarak Nidhi'." I don't know where this meeting was held and by whom. As far as I remember it was first the Working Committee of the Congress in its sitting immediately after Gandhiji's murder, namely, on the 5th and 6th of February, resolved that a National Memorial Fund be started, and this resolution was approved by the A.I.C.C. in its sitting held on 21st and 22nd February in Delhi. And it was in pursuance of these resolutions that you, as the President of the Congress, appealed to the nation to help the Gandhi Memorial Fund. I do not know why these facts are not mentioned here. And it is merely said that a meeting was held on 10th February 1948, and an appeal over the signature of Dr. Rajendra Prasad was issued. Are these omissions inadvertent or intentional? Intentional because mention of a political organisation or to say that an appeal over the signature of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Congress, would vitiate a legal document? If there is no legal bar I think these facts must be clearly mentioned in the document, namely, that the Congress Working Committee decided to raise the Memorial and it was the Congress President who issued the appeal.

(2) In the object of the trust I do not understand why the resolution of the A.I.C.C. regarding the Memorial is not given bodily. The contents in the resolution are given in various clauses and that also not in a very precise language expressive of the original intentions. Then I find in the objects of the trust a very important item has been omitted, namely, "to further the cause of world peace and fellowship". This object is not in the resolution of the Working Committee but is included in the resolution of the A.I.C.C. In my humble opinion this object alone gives to this Memorial a world aspect. And this is in the fitness of things, for Gandhiji was a world figure.

(3) On page five of the draft I do not know how clause four has found its place, because that is against the spirit of the resolution itself by which this Memorial has been raised. All over the country it is being dinned in the ears of the people, day in and day out, by hundreds of workers that nothing should be done in the name of Mahatma Gandhi's Memorial which goes against his principles and programmes. All items mentioned in clause four cannot be said to be in accordance with the principles and programmes of Gandhiji, though at the end of the clause is written "and afford medical and other facilities to the poor". First this is all meant, though for the poor, for the big cities and towns, and secondly these are not Gandhian methods of giving medical relief and promote and restore health even of the poor. If my guess is correct this clause has found its place in the objects due to the pressure of the rich in the cities. I remember that it was you who told me how the wealthy merchants of Calcutta were making a condition for giving their money that a big hospital should be built in Calcutta. This yielding to the pressure of the rich will be unfair to the people and would make us instruments in the hands of those who never believed in the life philosophy of Gandhiji.

Of course the trust deed does not mention who will be the Trustees. During our last visit to Pilani the time at our disposal was very short and though I wanted to know how your mind was working on this important matter, I did not get time to ask you. I am afraid in such matters normally proper appreciation of the services of the workers is not shown and their expectations are not fulfilled. They or their representatives do not get opportunities to control or influence the working of such trusts. I may tell you there is general dissatisfaction amongst the workers, who helped to collect money for the Kasturba Memorial Fund, that the Provinces were not evenly represented in the body of the Trustees and some interests and some Provinces got overrepresentation, quite out of proportion to their contributions.

On page 2 of the draft it is said that "the said committee (appointed by you) was to organise the collection and make arrangement for subsequent management of the said fund and also to act as Trustees of the said fund with power to co-opt one or more Trustees". I do not know how this provisional committee could constitute itself into Trustees of the said fund, and from whom it has derived the power of co-option. In the resolution of the Working Committee it is said that Working Committee "authorises the President of the Congress to take all preliminary steps, including the appointment of a provisional committee, in

order to launch this fund". But in the resolution of the A.I.C.C. it is explicitly stated that the method of utilising this fund will be decided subsequently by a representative meeting of those interested in it, who will also choose Trustees and a managing committee. Therefore in my humble opinion the provisional committee will go beyond the powers conferred upon it by the resolutions if it constitutes itself into the Trustees or it takes power for itself to appoint an executive or managing committee, which it appears it does, from article 34 of the trust deed, page 17.

According to the terms of the trust deed it appears that the Trustees will not only manage the funds and the properties of the trust but will be responsible for carrying out the objects of the trust. I think this principle of investing the Trustees with this double function is not correct and may lead to deadlocks and defeat the object of the Memorial. The function of the Trustees should be confined to holding and managing all the properties of the trust but the function of carrying out the objects of the trust should be entrusted to a body of workers who have dedicated their lives to the fulfilment of Gandhiji's principles and programmes. Gandhiji was a world teacher and his life's mission was to give a new religion of love to the world. Therefore Gandhiji's Memorial must be conceived in the spirit of a world mission. Therefore its constitution and working must be such that the whole world can look upon it as its own. These are some of the suggestions I want to make in connection with the Gandhi Memorial. I am sure yourself and the members of the Committee will treat them for whatever worth they possess.

After reaching Delhi, we went straight to Shri Kripalaniji, and gave him your letter and had a little talk with him. As he said, he had anticipated your advice though he did not, to be frank, approve of it. As we told him that we were meeting Sardar next morning he said we will meet again after you have seen Sardar.

Sardar of his own accord phoned and enquired what had happened at Pilani, as perhaps he himself was a little anxious to know about the matter. When I told him in a few words what had happened, his reaction can be summed up in the familiar words: "I told you so." Prafulla Babu and myself went to him next morning and gave him your letter. As far as I could see he approved of your additional reason for Shri Kripalani not to enter the field. As for South versus North he absolutely disapproves of your stand. He is of the opinion that you ought not to have raised this issue at all. He said that the Central Secretariat is full of people from the South, and there are twenty-two 'Menons'. Of course your letter to Shri Kripalaniji finally decides his case in his opinion. But he said that how far Shri Tandonji would be amenable, he did not know. He said that he has no such relations with Shri Tandonji as to call him and ask him to withdraw. There is possibility of his saying 'no' which naturally Sardar would not like to take. Therefore he feels that your request to him that he should use his influence to see that the election goes uncontested puts him in a difficult position. It also goes against the policy of you three remaining neutral in this matter. We of course told him that if he would ask Shri Tandonji to withdraw he would do so,

for you had also written to him to that effect. At the end he said he will see what can be done. We made it clear to him that we both are withdrawing and would like to issue a statement. He said, "Yes, you can do so."

Shri Kripalaniji also met Sardar. Before Prafulla Babu left for Calcutta, Shri Kripalaniji, Prafulla Babu and myself met at 6 Jantar Mantar. Shri Kripalaniji, after your letter to him, feels that he must withdraw but still, finally he has not made up his mind. Nor could we agree on the sort of the statement that we three of us should issue, or Prafulla Babu and myself separately and Shri Kripalaniji separately. As it was time for Prafulla Babu to leave for Calcutta we decided to wait for a day or two and see how matters develop. Perhaps there may be no necessity of issuing a statement if Shri Tandonji withdraws. That will be the best. Shri Kripalaniji feels, and his friends from U.P. assure him, that if he stood Shri Tandonji was bound to withdraw in his favour. I think it is possible that Shri Tandonji may withdraw from the context itself. There is nothing for us but to wait and see for a day or two.

Dr. Pattabhi and others met me after they returned from Pilani. The return journey seems to be fairly tolerable and they were happy that it was over.

You are coming to Delhi on 22nd. I think after Divali we should have a Working Committee meeting. Pt. Jawaharlalji by that time will have returned and there are other important matters also.

I hope there will be rapid recovery in your health. And by the time you return to Delhi you will be, in your words, in a position to do justice to your work.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

126. To Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
October 13, 1948

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 5th October 1948. I wrote to you two letters before that informing you that I was writing to Sardar Partap Singh, the Relief and Rehabilitation Minister of East Punjab, about your lands and that I was forwarding to him a copy of the correspondence which you had sent to me. I also sent to you a letter of introduction for Radhakrishna for Sardar Partap Singh. I hope these papers must have reached you by now. I have received a reply

from Sardar Partap Singh, a copy of which I am enclosing, which will speak for itself.

My name was proposed but I have withdrawn my candidature and have written to the Secretary of the Congress formally. This thing also has been announced in the Press. My reason for doing that was twofold. My health does not permit me to take additional work and during the time I have been President this time, I feel that I have not done as much as was expected of me and as I myself felt I should do. The main reason was my bad health, which has somehow or other persisted for some months. The other reason was that I felt that other people should also get a chance and particularly someone from the South. I do not know what the result of the Presidential election is going to be. We shall know, within the next two days, which of the candidates withdraw and if there is going to be a contest and between whom. As you know, the names of the candidates who do not withdraw will be published I think sometime after the 15th and all the Provincial Congress Committees have already notified meetings to be held on the 24th instant at which voting will take place in case of a contest. If per chance there is no contest, the result of the uncontested election will be announced probably on the 16th or so. So you will have known the result before perhaps this reaches you.

My health has improved considerably during my stay here at Pilani this time. During the first week or so, I was not well but after that I have gradually improved and today I feel I am normal and am able to take long walks, both morning and evening, about 2 to 3 miles each time. My present programme is to reach Delhi on the 22nd. I have got three meetings there on the 23rd, 24th and 25th, the last being a meeting of the Steering Committee, at which the Agenda for the next session of the Constituent Assembly will be settled. Of course, there is the general question of Constitution which will be taken up article by article and all amendments of which we have received notice. But apart from that there are one or two resolutions of which notice has been given and we have to decide when we can take up those resolutions. One of these resolutions suggests that the Constitution should be adopted in Hindi language and logically this ought to be the first resolution because if it is accepted the whole Constitution will have to be passed in that language, at any rate in that language and in English. It is particularly to consider the place of this resolution that the Steering Committee has to meet. After that I have to go for a day or two to Jubbulpore to fulfil an old engagement. I propose to go by plane to Nagpur on the 27th and after staying for a day at Wardha, to reach Jubbulpore by plane from Nagpur on the 28th and after staying there for two days, to reach Delhi on the 30th or 31st. Thereafter I stay in Delhi. Our Constituent Assembly session commences from the 4th November. I trust you have received printed copies of more than 600 amendments to the Constitution and notes for them. We are having another meeting of the Drafting Committee from the 16th onwards when another batch of amendments of which notice has since been received will be considered. I understand that there are many amendments in the second batch also. I note that

you will be in Delhi a day or two before the session opens and we shall of course meet there.

Yours affectionately,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, D.Lit., Bar-at-Law
Patna.

Enclosure not included.

127. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
October 13, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am enclosing a telegram which I have received from Mahashaya Krishna, the editor and proprietor of Urdu *Pratap*, protesting against the arrest of Pandit Mauli Chandra Sharma of the Janadhikar Samiti under Section 3 of the Public Safety Act. I enclose also a letter from Shri Mauli Chandra Sharma himself. There is also a cutting from a Hindi paper* containing the statement of Dr. Bhagwandas of Benares condemning the action of the Government towards the R.S.S. men. There is a general movement to revive the R.S.S. about which people from different places have spoken to me. I hear that in Delhi itself occasionally rallies, drills and physical exercises, which they used to have in a large body, have been started. I am also told that this thing is happening in other cities of the country also. I do not know how far all this information, which has been conveyed to me by various persons, is correct. Congress people generally think that Janadhikar Samiti is an organisation which has been started only to help the R.S.S. people under the pretext of protecting 'civil liberties' of the people. Again, I am not in a position to say how far this interpretation of the activities of the Janadhikar Samiti is correct. Delhi Congressmen have spoken to me more than once that the Janadhikar Samiti gets unreserved support from Congressmen and you will remember that on one occasion when Tandonji was going to address I was approached to request him not to do so but as this request was made to me when I was leaving Delhi at the railway station, I referred them to you and you had some talk with Tandonji. The meeting of course was addressed by Tandonji and Shri Gadgil presided. Nothing objectionable was said. As a matter of fact, speeches delivered by Tandonji and Gadgil were not only not objectionable but quite helpful. So it is very difficult in these circumstances to judge the motive and the activities of these people without having fuller

information and knowledge about their inner working. I do not know if Government has such information and if its action is based upon that knowledge. I, therefore, thought it best to pass all these papers on to you for such action as you may think just and proper in the circumstances.

As regards Shri Mauli Chandra Sharma, he once came to see me sometime ago and requested me to address a meeting under the auspices of the Janadhirak Samiti. It was soon after Kripalanji had done so. At that time I told him that the way in which the defence of Mahatma Gandhi Murder trial was being conducted had hurt me very much. I could understand any murderer claiming to be defended and, as a person having a legal training, I more or less instinctively consider a man to be not guilty unless his guilt is brought home to him but it was not the defence of the accused which was being offered but a hero was being made of the suspect. Subscriptions were raised and distinguished lawyers were being invited from various places for the defence of the people involved. I told him that all these indicated some sort of sympathy if not something worse between those who are organising the defence and the perpetrators of the crime. I also told him that I did not believe in hanging people for murder but defence conducted in such a way hurt me. He appreciated the force of what I said and after that I have had no occasion to meet him. While I personally feel that people's liberty should not be lightly interfered with and our Government being composed of men who have all their life protested against such action has to be very cautious and circumspect in using such extraordinary powers. At the same time I cannot also ignore the fact that if there are people who are capable of committing a heinous crime not only against the country, but against the world, they have to be at least prevented from carrying out their mischievous designs. It becomes very difficult to judge in these circumstances and there can be no doubt that a large number of innocent people are bound to get involved when there are arrests and imprisonments on a large scale. I would not therefore do anything which could give even indirect encouragement to this class of people by a policy of non-interference with our liberties. I would also at the same time take no action against any individual unless there was definite proof to satisfy some perfectly reliable authority against him. I doubt not, Pandit Mauli Chandra Sharma and his collaborators must have approached you also in this connection but I thought I had better pass on this letter to you.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

P.S. I saw in the paper that since the above was written Shri Mauli Chandra Sharma has been released.

Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India, New Delhi.

Enclosure 1:

(Telegram from Mahashaya Krishna)

New Delhi
11 October 1948

HONBLE RAJENDRA BABU

PILANI JAIPUR

JANADHIKAR SAMITI DUMBSTRUCK AT ARREST OF PANDIT MAULI CHANDRA SHARMA GENERAL SECRETARY JANADHIKAR SAMITI UNDER SECTION THREE OF PUBLIC [SAFETY ACT] SAMITI CONDEMN THIS ARBITRARY ACTION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES PRAY IMMEDIATE [ACTION]

MAHASHAYA KRISHNA

Enclosure 2:

(Letter from Mauli Chandra Sharma)

Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Bhavan
Nicholson Road, Delhi
11 October 1948

Respected Babuji,

I have been put under arrest under Section 3 of the Public Safety Act. The reason given is that I spoke something préjudicial in my speech at Delhi on 4 September. This is blatant untruth and groundless. Again, who is to decide whether my speech had prejudicial colour—the police or the court of justice? To arrest a person in this manner—will this go on in this free country?

I have had my differences with the several policies of the Congress Governments. But my arrest is against the very traditions of the Congress Governments and a sheer injustice to me.

Could you please enquire into this matter?

Yours,
Mauli Chandra Sharma

Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

128. *From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

Sinha Library Road
Post Box No. 62, G.P.O.
Patna
The 14th October 1948

My dear Rajendra,

I have already acknowledged your letter, which was itself a reply to my first of

Hoping to hear from you in due course at your leisure and convenience and trusting all well, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

Enclosure 1:

(Letter from the Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, to Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha)

Vice-Chancellor's Lodge
Benares Hindu University
Benares
October 8, 1948

My dear Sinha Saheb,

Thank you for your letter of the 5th. I shall *not* confer an honorary degree on you *in absentia* or even "in abstentia" and will insist on your being present in person. So please write to the Delhi Committee that is organising the celebrations for Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Birthday that you will be here on the 2nd of December.

I hope you were able to settle satisfactorily with Ismail the question of looking after Dr. Radhakrishnan's (sic) Lahore property.

I shall leave day after tomorrow for Darbhanga to attend the Oriental Conference.

With best regards, I am,

Yours affectionately,
Amarnath Jha

Dr. S. Sinha
Sinha Library Road
Post Box No. 62
Patna.

Enclosure 2:

(A cutting from a newspaper)

BANARAS, Oct. 10.—It is learnt that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, will be recipients of the honorary degree of the Doctor of Laws at the forthcoming Annual Convocation of the Banaras University on December 2. The Convocation was to have been held on November 30, according to a previous announcement.

The University of Banaras has also decided to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters on Shreemati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Shri Purushottamdas Tandon and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, it is further learnt.—U.P.

129. From *Vallabhbhai Patel*

New Delhi
14th October 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Sometime ago I spoke to you about the activities of Mridula and the Shanti Dal. I have since referred the question of its future to the Chief Commissioner who has consulted the Inspector-General of Police and the Deputy Commissioner. The officers are all unanimously of the view that the activities of the Shanti Dal are leading to constant frictions, that the Shanti Dal has some very undesirable elements, that the present liaison arrangements between the Provincial Congress Committee and the Chief Commissioner are working satisfactorily, and that the continuance of Shanti Dal is neither necessary nor desirable; in fact, if the organisation is continued, it would accentuate present frictions and demoralisation in the administration. I am, in this connection, enclosing a copy of the letter which Mohanlal Saxena has written to Mridula.

Recently I have come across some other instances of their undesirable activities. They make it a habit of writing letters to the Chief Commissioner and endorsing copies to the Prime Minister and other Ministers concerned, obviously with a view to impressing upon the Chief Commissioner that the representation would attract the notice of higher authorities and, therefore, he had better do something about it. In a recent case, Mridula forwarded a complaint against Shri Mauli Chandra Sharma in regard to a speech of his which he is alleged to have made at a Janadikar Samiti meeting in the first week of September. Our enquiries have brought out that the speech was a fabrication by a person who was probably drunk at the time. While the meeting was held, the speech was of a different type altogether. Unfortunately, the matter came too late to the notice of the Deputy Commissioner and the Chief Commissioner. In the meantime, the police, acting on the information given, had placed Mauli Chandra Sharma under arrest. He was kept in the police station for about 4-5 hours when the Deputy Commissioner intervened and had him released.

I have no doubt in my mind that this organisation, which virtually aims at a parallel local administration and functions as such, should be wound up as soon as possible. I do hope you will issue instructions accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Pd.
President, Indian National Congress
Pilani.

Enclosure:

(Copy of a D.O. letter dated 31 August 1948 from Mohanlal Saksena, Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, to Mridula Sarabhai)

31 August 1948

I have received your letter of the 21st instant along with long enclosures. I regret I could not reply to it earlier.

I really wonder how you can find time for preparing such long notes. To tell you frankly, I have not been able to find time to go through all of them. I have only been able to glance through them cursorily.

I am afraid you have wholly misunderstood me. I can have no objection to taking assistance from various voluntary organisations of social workers in matters of relief work, nor is there any idea of stopping the work of relief organisations like UCRW. But you will agree with me that the Shanti Dal is not engaged in any relief work. It has the responsibility of maintaining peace and order in the city. Since I have taken charge of office, I have tried my best to avail of the services of Shanti Dal much against the wishes of the officials. Similarly, with a view to infuse the spirit of self-help and manual labour, I tried to enlist the services of the social workers' organisation to which you have referred in your note. I admit that the social workers' organisation has not come up to my expectations, and the defects pointed out by you in your letter may be substantially correct. But you should not forget that the Shanti Dal is not above reproach. Several complaints have been made to me against the members of the Shanti Dal having taken 'pugri' and, I understand, some of them were even expelled from the organisation. I have also received complaints of interference with the administration by some of them. As a matter of fact, I brought the facts to the notice of Rajendra Babu. Not only that, allegations have been made that all these elements, which had to leave Congress, have found shelter in the Shanti Dal and have been furthering their political objectives. You know I was given to believe that with the help of the Shanti Dal we shall be able to peacefully get possession of a large number of Muslim evacuee houses within a couple of weeks and it was with that object that I had agreed to certain police arrangements in the Mohallas concerned, as well as the allotment of houses so recovered. But unfortunately that hope has not so far materialised and I find that it is not possible for the Shanti Dal to keep out undesirable elements. I have therefore come to the irresistible conclusion that if the Government have to utilise the services of the voluntary organisation for the maintenance of peace or securing the active cooperation of the public, it should be done through trusted and recognised organisations, like the Congress. I am sure you cannot take any objection to this stand.

I am really sorry that notwithstanding our personal talks you have felt it necessary to write long notes and send copies even to His Excellency the

Governor-General who is only a constitutional head and has nothing to do with the day-to-day administration.

130. *From Shankarrao Deo*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref. G-2/6500

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
15 October 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

Received your letter dated 12th. I have got copies made of the anonymous questionnaire. I am sending one copy to you; there will be one copy in the office and I will take one copy for my use at Patna. According to your instructions I will meet Sardar before I leave for Patna and will hold the enquiry in the light of your letter and Sardar's advice. I am leaving for Patna on the 18th and will stay there for two or three days and then, most probably, I will go directly to Poona because unfortunately it seems all your efforts to bring about an uncontested election in favour of Dr. Pattabhi are not going to bear fruit. I learn from Jugal Kishoreji that Shri Mohanlal Gautam, who is here, has brought for you a letter from Tandonji, in which he gives his reasons for not acceding to your desire. So, unfortunately there will be election on the 24th. I wish to be in my Province and cast my vote in favour of Dr. Pattabhi. You must have seen the statement issued by me and Prafulla Babu. I think Kripalanji will issue his statement today. If every one of us keeps silent I do not know how Dr. Pattabhi will feel and fare. Still I have not made up my mind. Sometimes I feel that the issue should be placed before the voters, and thinking and acting on clear-cut ideological lines should be encouraged in the Congress. I would have liked you to guide us and give the lead, but you have thought it fit not to do so. Is it not possible for you to change your attitude? Because, after all, even in democracy though everybody is free to vote, democracy also requires training and guidance on occasions like the present one. Still, you are elder to us and we willingly bow before your will and decision. But it would be the greatest calamity, if this time Pattabhi is not elected, not only personally to him but to the Congress as an organisation, because people will not take this contest as between two persons but between two ways of thinking and defeat of the one is not a victory for the other personally but success for the principles, policy and programme he stands for. Will you still decide to speak and ask us to do so? Perhaps future may say that it was wrong for us not to

have spoken or acted on this occasion. Still, as I have said, I have not made up my mind.

You must have received my letter of the 12th giving you my reactions and suggestions to Trust Deed and also the up-to-date account of what happened after I returned from Pilani as far as the Presidential election was concerned.

As I am going to Poona on the 24th I may not return to Delhi till the 27th or 28th. By that time perhaps you will have left Delhi for Jubbulpore. That means we will meet only in the first week of November. You must have thought over my suggestion to call a meeting of the Working Committee in the early part of next month.

I hope you are improving rapidly in health.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Pilani.

131. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
October 16, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have received your letter dated the 14th October 1948 about the Shanti Dal. I may inform you that the point raised by you is under my active consideration and correspondence has been going on. I received a letter from Shri Mohanlal Saksena dated the 10th September 1948, along with which he forwarded to me a copy of a report made by Shrimati Subhadra Joshi, in charge of 'Housing and Accommodation Section', Shanti Dal. It was stated in that report by Shrimati Subhadra Joshi that she had the seals put on certain houses by the Custodian removed and resettled Muslims who had been evicted from the houses. As soon as I was able to attend to correspondence on my arrival here, I took up the matter and wrote to Shri Mridula Behn. I enclose a copy of my letter. On receipt of this she wired to me that I should hold the order in abeyance until she had seen me and explained the position. She was to have arrived here a few days ago, but then she has subsequently wired that she is going away to Karachi and would come a few days later. Shrimati Subhadra Joshi has also written to me a letter. I have also received a letter from Shri Mridula Behn in which she explains what she has to say and has enclosed a large number of documents. I have not been able to study the whole lot yet and will take steps on my return to Delhi next week. As

regards this last incident about Shri Mauli Chandra Sharma, I shall look into it on my return.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi-5.

Enclosure not included.

132. *From Balvantray Mehta*

Rajkot
18 October 1948

My dear Rashtrapati ji,

In continuation of my letter dated 9th inst., requesting your cooperation in the matter of election to the Constituent Assembly of Saurashtra, I am glad to intimate to you that the election campaign is going on very well. The Congress candidates are scoring heavily in enlisting the support of the voters in their respective constituencies. Eight seats out of 35 have been won by the Congress without a contest. In many others, there is going to be a very nominal contest. There will be a keen contest in only a few and the matter is being handled very carefully and properly by the Saurashtra Congress Committee. I, therefore, request you not to trouble yourself any more in this regard, except for sending a message for the success of the Congress candidates at your earliest convenience.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,
Balvantray Mehta

133. *To Jugal Kishore*

Camp: Pilani
Jaipur State
October 18, 1948

My dear Jugal Kishoreji,

I am enclosing certain papers which I have received in connection with the confusion created in Vindhya Pradesh and asking for some definite orders from

me. I find that you have issued certain letters and telegrams. You will recollect that when you were here, Syt. Dan Bahadur Singh came here and complained about the agreement which had been reached between the parties in your and Shankarrao's presence and accepted by me. I refused to interfere with the agreement which had been reached and I expected that the election would be held in accordance with the terms of that agreement without any further trouble. But it seems that certain orders which have been issued by you seem to go counter to the agreement and appear to me also to contradict your own previous letters. So far as I understand the sense of the agreement was that so far as the District Committees in Bundelkhand and Rewa were concerned, they were named in the agreement and there would be no addition or subtraction in those names of the members of the two District Committees. It was also clear that the delegates, either to the Meerut Congress or to the Gwalior session of the States People's Conference, would not be ex-officio members of the District Committees and the Provincial Congress Committee concerned. This is what you yourself stated in your letter dated the 9th September 1948, addressed to Syt. Mohanlalji Gautam, where you have said that the delegates elected from Bundelkhand and Rewa for the Meerut session of the Congress are not to be treated as ex-officio members of the Provincial Congress Committee and that Article XI of the Constitution is not applicable as the proposed Provincial Congress Committee of Vindhya Pradesh is only a provisional committee set up by mutual agreement between the Congress and the Prajamandals. Similarly the delegates to the Gwalior All-India States People's Conference are not to be ex-officio members of the provisional Provincial Congress Committee. That being so, and I think that is the correct position, I do not understand how on the 4th October you have written again to Syt. Banaspati Singh that all delegates returned to the Meerut Congress and some of those delegates from the All-India States People's Conference to the Gwalior session who would be elected by the delegates from amongst themselves will be entitled to attend the Jaipur session and will be recognised as full-fledged delegates with all other rights and privileges, and as such they will also be members of the Provincial Congress Committee of Vindhya Pradesh and therefore the Vindhya Pradesh Congress Committee will consist of (a) those who have been elected by Rewa and Bundelkhand members according to the President's award, and (b) all delegates who attend the Jaipur session.

When a matter has been settled by agreement between parties, I do not see how we can go back on that agreement and upset it. The resolution of the Working Committee never contemplated the disregard of any agreement arrived at by parties and accepted by you and me. I think the position is clear:

(1) The District Committees of Bundelkhand and Rewa will consist of the members who are mentioned in the agreement and there will be no addition to them.

(2) The Provincial Congress Committee will consist of members elected by these members of the two District Committees and the delegates to the Meerut session of the Congress and the Gwalior session of the A.I.S.P.C. are not as such

entitled to become members of the Provincial Committee and there will be no ex-officio member of the Provincial Committee and Article XI will not apply.

(3) The delegates to the next session of the Congress will, according to paragraph 7 of the agreement, comprise 10 members who will be elected to fill the ten vacancies amongst the delegates as laid down, namely, 3 to be elected by Bundelkhand and the remaining 7 to be elected by Rewa. The remaining 24 delegates to the Meerut Congress whose places were not declared vacant will continue so that of the 34 delegates returned to the Meerut Congress, 24 will be the old delegates and 10 elected in place of 10 vacancies declared as stated above, namely, 3 by Bundelkhand and 7 by Rewa.

(4) The election to the A.I.C.C. will be held by the delegates who will attend the Jaipur session, that is to say, the 24 old delegates and 10 newly elected delegates.

(5) The ten vacancies amongst the delegates will be filled as follows:

As mentioned in your letter No. P.35/5916 dated the 25th September, paragraph 2, addressed to Shri Banaspati Singh, namely, delegates to the Gwalior session of the A.I.S.P.C. from Rewa should elect from amongst themselves and fill up 7 vacant seats from Rewa and delegates to the Gwalior session of the A.I.S.P.C. from Bundelkhand should elect from amongst themselves to fill the 3 vacant seats from Bundelkhand. The names of the Praja Mandal delegates from Rewa to the Gwalior States People's Conference are the last 12 names beginning with Shri Shivanand and ending with Shri Madanlal of list I and those from Bundelkhand are the last 14 names, beginning with Shri Prem Narain Tiwari and ending with Shri Ram Kishan Verma of List No. 2 of my order on the agreement dated the 22nd August 1948. For reference the names of the members are mentioned at appendices.

I trust it will not be necessary to go into this matter again and we shall stick to the decision once taken and no further confusion will be created. This order is final and supersedes every previous order to the extent they contradict it and should be communicated to Syt. Mohanlal Gautam for holding the election on the 22nd October 1948.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Acharya Jugal Kishore
General Secretary, A.I.C.C.

Enclosure not included.

134. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

20 October 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Thank you for your letter of 13 October 1948 regarding Shri Mauli Chandra

Sharma. I have already written to you how his arrest came about.
I hope you are now better.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Pilani.

135. *From Partap Singh*

Simla

29 October 1948

Respected Babuji,

Thanks for your letter dated 26-10-48 regarding land for the Harijans.
I will be too glad to discuss this matter. I am not a member of the Constituent Assembly now. I will be coming to the meeting of the Working Committee on 12 and 13 November, so will have the opportunity of meeting you.

If there will be a meeting of the Advisory Committee, I may see you early.
With respects,

Respectfully yours,
Partap Singh

Rehabilitation Minister, Govt. of Punjab

136. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Bombay

1 November 1948

HONBLE DR RAJENDRA PRASAD
NEW DELHI

I HAVE RECEIVED FOLLOWING NAMES FOR APPROVAL FOR NOMINATION TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FROM RAJASTHAN UNION MANEKYALAL VARMA PRIME MINISTER GOKULLAL ASAWA OF SHAHPURA MINISTER BALWANTSINGH MEHTA OF UDAIPUR AND KUNWAR DALEL SINGHJI OF KOTAH IN VIEW OF SHORT TIME AVAILABLE SUGGEST WE ACCORD OUR APPROVAL IMMEDIATELY PLEASE TELEGRAPH REPLY SO THAT I MAY PUT THESE NAMES TO RAJPRAMUKH FOR NOMINATION

VALLABHBHAI

137. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

New Delhi
1 November 1948

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
BOMBAY

THANKS TELEGRAM I APPROVE NAMES FROM RAJASTHAN PLEASE TAKE
FURTHER ACTION

RAJENDRAPRASAD

138. *From Shankarrao Deo*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref. G-2/8065

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
3 November 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

Received your letter dated 30th November and was glad to note that after proper treatment you hope to resume your functions as the President of the Constituent Assembly after Jaipur session. There is no doubt, as it may be said, ill luck has pursued you as far as the climatic conditions and your health dependent on them are concerned. I hope the doctors or the vaidyas, whoever they may be, will prove this time at least true prophets. As you write, you will send your views for the consideration of the Working Committee which will meet on the 10th and 11th at Sardar's place. You will also please send an Appeal to the Nation if possible, regarding the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, so that that too may be placed before the Working Committee and some resolution for the Congress drafted.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Bajajwadi, Wardha.

139. *From B.S. Mahadev Singh*

SOCIALIST PARTY (HYDERABAD STATE)

Hyderabad Office
21st November 1948

Dear Sir,

As desired by the Executive of my Party, I am herewith enclosing a copy of the Political Resolution, adopted on the 16th of this month, with the request that you would give due consideration to it.

With regards!

Yours faithfully,
B.S. Mahadev Singh
General Secretary

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Constituent Assembly
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(A copy of the Political Resolution adopted by the Socialist Party,
Hyderabad State)

(i) The police action taken by the Government of Indian Union is viewed by the Socialist Party (Hyderabad State) as a part of the people's struggle against the forces of evil that designed unmitigated slavery and repression. These forces having been defeated the main obstacles in the people's struggle to free themselves from the exploitation by feudalistic zamindars, capitalists and from the social structure built up by the past governments and vested interests can be considered as removed. But the common man will continue to struggle until the above objectives are achieved. In this context the Socialist Party feels it necessary to take into consideration the various forces, political or otherwise, in the State.

(a) *The State Congress:* This organisation thrives on the reflected glory of the Indian National Congress, but organisationally and disciplinarily it was neither strong before nor is strong now, because, besides being young, it is a loose unification of three weak provincial political organisations. The common objective to overthrow the feudalistic and fascist regime of the Nizam brought them comparatively closer. But, with the success of the police action the forces of disruption have gained strength. With the approach of power the gulf between the various ideological and personal groups in the organisation has widened. This would facilitate the reactionaries and other interests to exploit the organisation for their ends and the lot of the common man will be ignored.

Further, with the integration of the State with the Indian Union and with the merger of this organisation with the Indian National Congress the policy and programme of the State Congress will necessarily have to be toed in line with the all-India policies, which today are far from beneficial to the common man. Disruptive and disgruntled elements within and outside the State Congress are already either forming or encouraging existing communal organisations that are dangerous to society.

(b) *Communists*: The Socialist Party, while appreciating that part of the Communist activities that helped the struggle, regrets that, as in the national struggle in India, they let down the people of Hyderabad by adopting undesirable and changing tactics and by aligning themselves with the evil forces encouraged by the Government of Hyderabad and the Razakars. Their actions against the innocent men and helpless villagers, culminating even today in murder, arson, loot and rape, condemns them as enemies of the people of Hyderabad and India. Viewed in the context of the South-East Asian policy of the Communists, the Socialist Party feels that their policy is evolved not for the benefit and welfare of the people in India or Hyderabad but for their interests elsewhere.

(c) *The Muslims*: A large number of Muslims have been misguided particularly in the immediate past by the propaganda and efforts to rouse feelings of communal sovereignty. It must be understood beyond doubt that the common man and woman among them gained nothing but the opposition and hatred of the others by this attachment to communalism. They have been used as tools by the ruler and his agents and betrayed by them. The economic policy of the communal government during the last decade helped only the top few amongst the Muslims. Any organisation or government that ignores this fact would be doing tremendous injustice to the Muslim community. There is no difference in the economic oppression meted out by the feudal and capitalist stronghold to the Muslims or non-Muslims. It is up to the Muslims to [build] for themselves the future by uniting with the other oppressed people in their fight. In the Socialist Party's objective differences can never arise in the happy admixture of people of different faiths.

(d) *The Backward Classes*: This section of people was also utilised as a base by the previous governments of Hyderabad for their reactionary policies. The feudalists and the capitalists associated themselves with the Government in exploiting them. The backward and depressed classes were disrupted by opportunist leadership on false promises and to a great extent they were attracted to them due to the extreme economic and cultural debasement which society perpetuated on them. That factor denotes a dangerous weakness in the social structure. Therefore the Socialist Party considers that the caste and communal tendencies and the economic inequalities must forthwith cease in all forms, cultural or otherwise.

(ii) With the defeat and surrender of the Nizam and his Government the principle of people's sovereignty in Hyderabad is established and their immediate demands of integration with the Indian Union and responsible

government are fulfilled and in no part or respect can these demands become the subject matter for any further discussion except for the implementation thereof through administrative action.

(iii) The need for a Constituent Assembly for Hyderabad does not exist because Hyderabad, on account of the success of the police action-cum-people's struggle, has become a part of the Indian Union. Further, a single State cannot allow two Constituent Assemblies with sovereign rights to function and shape the future structure for the whole and the part separately. Any such imposition by the States Ministry can only mean a realignment of the defeated forces and other reactionaries to create further obstacles in the way of the people.

(iv) The Socialist Party is firmly of the opinion that the Princes have no place in the secular democratic state of India. But the Nizam, by his inimical opposition to the right of the people to exercise their sovereign will, by his deep, long and sinister association with evil forces which had caused so much of devastation and sorrow to the people of Hyderabad, and finally by his rebellious act of fighting the Government of India, not only forfeited his and his dynasty's right to the throne, but made his trial in a people's court inevitable. But if the people's verdict has essentially to be recorded, the issue concerning the status of the Nizam or his dynasty can at best be subjected to a plebiscite formally. This process would eliminate the chances of the Constituency being influenced by the States Ministry of the Government of India.

(v) As a natural consequence of the integration of this State to the Indian Union, and in the context of all-India considerations of linguistic affinities, the disintegration of the State has become a subject for immediate attention. It cannot be delayed longer than necessitated by the exigencies of the police action of the Indian Union authorities whose immediate task is to restore peace in the land. This issue too may be formally decided by a plebiscite.

(vi) The kisans and mazdoors have been deliberately shut out from any association with the administrative machinery. Their revolt against the Government and its supporters expressed itself unequivocally in and through the struggle of the past three decades. A recognition of this revolt and the success so far achieved must not admit any intermediary step, but the kisans and mazdoors should be allowed to evolve a machinery to administer, with a view to better their lot. If this is to be freely done, the Socialist Party demands that every influence against them must be liquidated under the authority of the Indian Union as a part of the police action for establishing peace and order. This in effect shall be the immediate abolition of Jagirs, Paighas, Samastans, Deshmukhis, Zamindaris and the Sarf-e-Khas and the taking over of the industries most of which are already heavily subsidised by the State. It is only then that the atmosphere for successful and free functioning of democracy will prevail and the people can freely decide about the several issues that confront them.

(vii) The Socialist Party (Hyderabad State) invites the cooperation of, and extends its cooperation to, such organisations or institutions that accept its policy.

140. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Bajajwadi, Wardha
24 November 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I arrived here on the 17th accompanied by Dr. Dhandha. The journey was quite uneventful and on the whole comfortable. I had asked Dr. T.N. Bannerjee of Patna to join me at Nagpur as Dr. Dhandha was to go away the next day from here. Dr. Bannerjee had arrived at the Nagpur Aerodrome by Calcutta plane a few minutes before my arrival and met us when we landed. We drove straight to Wardha. Since coming here there has been some improvement but not much. This is due very largely to the very bad weather which we have had during the last 4 days. We have had very heavy rain, some 5" in two days and the sky has been overcast. It is so even today. There is occasionally strong wind. This is the effect of the Bombay cyclone. We are hoping the weather will improve in a day or two and as soon as the weather clears up, I am bound to make rapid progress. In spite of the very bad weather I have had no relapse of asthma and cough also has been very largely controlled. Only a slight temperature between 98 and 99 continues which but for the bad weather would have settled down by now. They have now decided on a course of treatment which, it is hoped, will keep me free from asthma for at least two or three years. It is a course of injections which has just been started and will take about 3 weeks to complete. Dr. Bannerjee is very hopeful about it. He left yesterday morning and Dr. Mahodaya is looking after me here and carrying on the instructions which he and Dr. Dhandha had left.

While I was in Delhi the doctors and everybody else thought that I must change my house. It could not be done during those few days but I should like to return to another house, if possible. It need not be a very big house. A smaller house with smaller but a larger number of rooms will suit me better. Only the rooms should be sunny and open. I had asked Jagjivan Babu to speak to Gadgil and see if he could give me any other house. They were not able to find any house then but perhaps it will be possible now.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

141. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE

New Delhi
November 24, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Many thanks for your good wishes on the occasion of my birthday. I am glad

to learn that you have made good progress since you went to Sewagram. I hope you will be quite fit soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Sewagram
Wardha, C.P.

142. *From H.V.R. Iengar*

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

SECRET

New Delhi
26 November 1948

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I enclose a draft report on the question of minority rights in East Punjab and West Bengal which I have prepared after the Sub-Committee met three days ago. The note has been drafted in accordance with the directions of the Prime Minister and I have shown an earlier version of it which was substantially the same to both Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Munshi who approved of it. If you agree in the conclusions reached, the last portion of para 1 of the draft report will remain in the final version.

2. Sardar Patel is returning from tour on the 29th and I shall be grateful if your comments could be sent to him direct by that date. I am suggesting this as I am going out on tour today and will not be back till the 6th or 7th of December.

3. I do hope your health has greatly improved by the change and that we may soon expect to see you in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
H.V.R. Iengar

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad:

Enclosure:

(Draft Report)

At a meeting held on the 24th February 1948 the Advisory Committee on minorities, fundamental rights, etc., appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as Chairman, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Munshi as Members, to report on certain minority problems affecting East Punjab and West Bengal. We met on the 23rd November and herewith present our report. We much regret that on account of his illness Dr. Rajendra Prasad was unable to be present during our deliberations and to give us the benefit of his counsel, but we understand from him that he is in complete accord with the conclusions which we have reached.

2. The Advisory Committee will recall that at a session held in August 1947 the Constituent Assembly considered the problem of what may broadly be described as political safeguards for minorities and came to the following conclusions:

- (1) That all elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures will be held on the basis of joint electorates with reservation of seats for certain specified minorities on their population ratio. This reservation shall be for a period of 10 years at the end of which the position is to be reconsidered. There shall be no weightage. But members of the minority communities for whom seats are reserved shall have the right to contest general seats;
- (2) That there shall be no statutory reservation of seats for the minorities in Cabinets, but a convention on the lines of paragraph VII of the Instrument of Instructions issued to Governors under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall be provided in a schedule to the Constitution;
- (3) That in the All-India and Provincial Services the claims of minorities shall be kept in view in making appointments to these services consistently with consideration of efficiency of administration; and
- (4) That to ensure protection of minority rights an Officer shall be appointed by the President at the Centre and the Governors in the Provinces to report to the Union and Provincial Legislatures respectively about the working of the safeguards.

These decisions were reached at a time when the effect of the Radcliffe Award on the population structure of the East Punjab and the West Bengal Provinces was not accurately known, and a tragic and immense migration of populations was taking place across the frontiers of the East and West Punjab. The Assembly accordingly decided to postpone consideration of the whole question of minority rights in the political field to be provided in the Constitution for Sikhs and other minorities in the East Punjab. They also agreed, at the suggestion of the representatives of West Bengal, to postpone consideration of the question as to whether minorities in that Province should have the right to contest general seats in addition to having seats reserved for them according to population strength.

3. The most important problem referred to us is the problem of the Sikhs. We have examined carefully the demands put forward on their behalf by different organisations and individuals; these vary from suggestions that no special constitutional safeguards are necessary to the very forthright demands of the Shiromani Akali Dal. In the main these demands are:

- (i) that the Sikhs should have the right to elect representatives to the Legislature through a purely communal electorate;
- (ii) that in the Provincial Legislature of East Punjab 50 per cent of the seats and in the Central Legislature 5 per cent should be reserved for the Sikhs;
- (iii) that seats should be reserved for them in the U.P. and Delhi;
- (iv) that Scheduled Caste Sikhs should have the same privileges as other Scheduled Castes; and
- (v) that there should be a statutory reservation of a certain proportion of places in the Army.

It will be noticed that these suggestions are a fundamental departure from the decisions taken by the Assembly in respect of every other community including the Scheduled Castes.

4. It seems scarcely necessary for us to say that in dealing with this problem we are acutely aware of the tragic sufferings which the Sikh community suffered both before and after the partition of the Punjab. The holocaust in West Punjab has deprived them of many valuable lives and great material wealth; moreover, while in these respects the Hindus suffered equally with the Sikhs, the special tragedy of the Sikhs was that they had also to abandon many places particularly sacred to their religion. But while we fully understand the emotional and physical strain to which they have been subjected, we are clear in our minds that the question remitted to us for consideration must be settled on different grounds.

5. The Sikhs are a minority from the point of view of numbers, but they do not suffer from any of the other handicaps which affect the other communities dealt with by the Advisory Committee. They are a highly educated and virile community with great gifts not merely as soldiers but as farmers and artisans, and with a most remarkable spirit of enterprise. There is, in fact, no field of activity in which they need fear comparison with any other community in the country, and we have every confidence that, with the talents they possess, they will soon reach a level of prosperity which will be the envy of other communities. Moreover, while in the undivided Punjab they were only 14 per cent of the population, they form nearly 30 per cent of the population in East Punjab, a strength which gives them, in the public life of the Province, a position of considerable authority.

6. We have come to the conclusion that we cannot recommend either communal electorates or weightage in the Legislature which are the main demands of the Shiromani Akali Dal. In the first place they are not necessary for the well-being of the Sikhs themselves for the reasons we have stated above. Indeed it seems to us that under a system of joint electorates with reserved seats and with the right to contest additional seats the Sikhs are likely to get greater representation than is strictly warranted on the population basis; whereas, on a system of communal electorates, their representation will be limited. The only way in which this representation could be increased beyond the population basis is to give weightage which means trenching compulsorily on what other communities legitimately regard as their right. In the second place, communal electorates and

weightage are definitely retrograde from the point of view of the general interests of the country. The demands of the Dal are, in principle, precisely those which the Muslim League demanded for the Muslims and which led to the tragic consequences with which the country is all too familiar. We feel convinced that if we are to build a strong state which will hold together in times of peace and war, of prosperity and adversity, the Constitution should contain no provision which would have the effect of isolating any section of the people from the mainstream of public life. In this connection we would recall the following resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly at its meeting held on the 3rd April 1948:

Whereas it is essential for the proper functioning of democracy and the growth of national unity and solidarity that communalism should be eliminated from Indian Life, this Assembly is of opinion that no communal organisation which by its constitution or by the exercise of discretionary power vested in any of its officers or organs, admits to or excludes from its membership persons on grounds of religion, race and caste, or any of them, should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the bona fide religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community, and that all steps, legislative and administrative, necessary to prevent such activities should be taken.

It is not always easy to define communalism but there could be little doubt that separate electorates are both a cause and an aggravated manifestation of this spirit. The demands of the Dal are thus wholly at variance with the considered judgement of the Assembly.

If the Constitution guaranteed special safeguards such as communal electorates and weightage to the Sikhs we fear that it would be impossible to justify denying the same privileges to certain other communities. The detailed arguments may vary but the main approach will be similar. We would mention in this connection only the Scheduled Castes whose standards of education and material well-being are, even on Indian standards, extremely low and who, moreover, suffer from grievous social disabilities. They have contented themselves with the provisions approved by the Assembly as referred to in paragraph 2 above. We cannot conceive of any valid argument which would justify the inclusion in the Constitution of safeguards for the Sikhs which are not available to the Scheduled Castes. The case of the Scheduled Castes is merely illustrative. We feel convinced that to accede to the demands of the Shiromani Akali Dal will lead by an inevitable extension of similar privileges to other communities to a disruption of the whole conception of the secular state which is to be the basis of our new Constitution.

7. We recommend accordingly that no special provision should be provided for the Sikhs other than the general provisions already approved by the Assembly for certain other minorities and summarised in para 2.

8. The only reason why the Assembly postponed consideration of the question

of giving to minorities in West Bengal the right to contest unreserved seats was that it was pointed out by the West Bengal representatives that the population structure of that Province was not known at that time. Although on account of the recent exodus from East Bengal, any accurate estimate of the numbers of different communities in West Bengal is a matter of some conjecture, the broad picture is known clearly enough and we do not think there are any reasons why the arrangements already approved by the Assembly for other Provinces should not be applied to West Bengal.

143. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
29th November 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

I received your letter of the 24th November yesterday on my return from tour from Banaras and Allahabad.

2. I was glad to hear from Dhanda that Wardha was suiting you better and that you were improving. I am so happy to learn that that improvement is being maintained. I hope you will soon get rid of the little temperature that you have and that the new treatment would do you good.

3. As you must have learnt from the papers, the Constituent Assembly is plodding along. We have, however, taken measures to expedite the disposal of amendments and hope that it will be possible to stick to the time-table. You need have no worry on this score.

4. I hear you are not coming to the Congress session. I should advise you not to put yourself out, although I fully realise how anxious and eager you must be to attend the Congress. If, however, you feel well enough to come, then let us know.

5. We had the Trust Deed Drafting Committee meeting of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. A day or two before the meeting took place, Shankarrao sent to me a copy of the letter which he had sent to you in the middle of October. I wish I had known about that letter earlier because then we could have looked into it and decided how best to meet the situation. As matters developed, however, we had no alternative but to call a conference of provincial representatives. This makes things a bit awkward for us because you know that all of us had given some assurances to the industrialists about the composition of the Trust and its objectives. However, I shall try to do the best I can to see that we adhere to our commitments. Pakvasa did his best but he will have to come again.

6. As regards the house, I shall speak to Gadgil. I understand there is some difficulty about persuading one or two Ministers, whom he had in mind, to go to your house.

7. Will you please keep me informed about your progress and about the effect of the new treatment?

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Pd.
Bajajwadi, Wardha.

144. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Bajajwadi
Wardha
30th November 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Iyengar has sent me draft proceedings of a meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee on minorities which was held at Delhi on the 23rd November which I could not attend on account of my illness. I agree with the decisions of the Committee although I did not attend the meeting and so paragraph (1) of the minutes in which my agreement is mentioned, may stand. As he has gone away to Andamans, he has asked me to write to you expressing my agreement which I am hereby doing.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

145. *From Jugal Kishore*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
1st December 1948

My dear Babuji,

From the reports appearing in the Press I was glad to learn that your stay in Wardha has been beneficial to your health. I hope that it will continue to show

improvement and that you will be able to attend the next meeting of the Working Committee to be held in New Delhi on the 10th and 11th December to consider the agenda for the Subjects Committee.

At the last meeting of the Working Committee held in your absence, the question of setting up regular committees in the States where provisional committees only were functioning was taken up. The Working Committee's attention was drawn towards the anomaly that existed in Vindhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh due to which the delegates were not ex-officio members. The Committee thereafter passed a resolution, a copy of which I am enclosing, laying down general principles for the reorganisation of such committees and authorised the members—present in Delhi—of the States Sub-Committee of the Working Committee to formulate proposals which should be given effect to without any further reference to the Working Committee. But in the case of Vindhya Pradesh, the attention of the Working Committee was drawn to the award which you, as President, had given regarding the formation of P.C.C. As you were absent and the Committee could not ascertain your opinion as to whether you would want the Vindhya Pradesh P.C.C. to be reorganised on the basis of the resolution passed by the Working Committee or whether you would like the present P.C.C. to continue for some time more and the Working Committee directed the States Committee members that no proposal regarding Vindhya Pradesh should be given effect to unless it had your approval.

The members of the States Committee met and formulated a proposal for the reconstitution of the Vindhya Pradesh P.C.C. in line with the other P.C.C.s. I am enclosing the draft of their proposal for your consideration and approval.* In case you agree with the proposal that the P.C.C., Vindhya Pradesh, should be reconstituted on the lines proposed by the Committee it would be necessary to have fresh election of delegates for vacancies caused. If this could be done before the Jaipur session meets, it would enable them to attend the Congress session.

No decision has yet been taken regarding the formation of East Punjab States because it presented many difficulties. It will be taken up again in consultation with Sardar Patel and Sardar Baldev Singh.

With kind regards,

Yours respectfully,
Jugal Kishore

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, A.I.C.C.
Camp: Bajajwadi
Wardha.

*See Appendices.

146. To Jawaharlal Nehru

Bajajwadi
Wardha

1 December 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Many thanks for your kind letter. I have been making steady though slow progress. I would have been much better by now had it not been for the very bad weather which we have had here on account of the cyclone. Heavy rain and cloudy sky have retarded progress. But for the last two days we have bright sunshine and I hope to improve quickly if this continues. I am undergoing a course of treatment which, the doctors assure me, will keep me free from asthma for at least 2 or 3 years.

I have been following the proceedings of the Assembly. You can well imagine my chagrin and disappointment at not being able to attend this most important session of the Assembly. I hope I shall be able to join the Assembly after the Congress session. I do not like to take the risk of the bitter cold and dust and din of Jaipur and so propose to return to Delhi after the Congress session is over for the Constituent Assembly.

I trust, under the new rules which the Assembly has passed, progress with the Draft Constitution will be more rapid, specially after the Fundamental Rights chapter is over and till we reach some of the chapters after the Provincial Part, particularly the lists and the schedules.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi.

147. To Vallabhbhai Patel

Bajajwadi
Wardha

1 December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 29th instant.

I am gradually improving. We had very bad weather and that has to some extent retarded progress. But I am thankful that it did not make me worse. For the last two days we have had clear days and bright sunshine and humidity which used to be some 80 to 85 degrees a few days ago have come down to 45 to 50

which is more or less the normal. I hope with this weather improvement will be rapid.

I am not thinking of going to the Congress. We have hardly a fortnight now and I do not think I shall have gained enough strength to stand the strain and the cold and the dust of Jaipur. I propose to return to Delhi when the Assembly reopens after the Congress session. That gives me three weeks from now and I hope this will be sufficient for my present purposes and I shall be able to complete the course of treatment by then and I shall get a few days after completing it.

I do not apprehend that there will be any difficulty in the meeting of the Gandhi Memorial Fund. You will be able to manage it alright. I have had a talk with Shyamlal who is acting as Thakkar Bapa's assistant in the Kasturba Fund. I understand from him that all the Trustees do not take as much interest as is necessary and so it is desirable to have in the Executive Committee at least people who will be able to give some time and attention to this work. One of the reasons for poor response to our Fund is that in many places people raise the objection that they do not know what is being done with the Kasturba Fund. That is partly due to the method, which Bapu adopted, of first training women workers and then spreading the work through them. That is its merit because there is no waste. But also it creates an impression that much is not being done. We have to evolve a procedure which will enable quick work to be done without involving waste or leakage and amongst the Trustees we must have at least some people who will be able to devote some time to the actual work. We must have a very active President and Secretary who should be not only vigilant but also have some imagination. As far as I can recollect, I do not think we have got Shri Pakvasa's name in the list of Trustees. From the way in which he has been taking interest in the matter, I feel he will be helpful and useful. Kindly consider this suggestion. He will be helpful also in dealing with many legal questions which are bound to arise. As I have not got here the list with me and do not remember all the names, I shall be pleased if you kindly send me a copy of the list so that I might look into it once again and send to you any suggestions which may occur to me. As I have said above, I should like to have some young people who will give time to this work. Of course the helping Trustees will be few and ought to be men in whom people, particularly the donors, will have full confidence. As I happen to be the President of the Provincial Committee, it is possible that my name may be suggested for the Presidentship of the Board of Trustees or the Managing Committee also. In view of my uncertain health kindly consider if it would be desirable for me to accept this heavy responsibility. There is one thing which I may mention. With the passing of the Constitution on the 26th January, I may be free from the Constituent Assembly work and will have no other responsibilities.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

P.S. I do not wish to disturb any Minister for a house. Sj. Jairamdas's house

was mentioned to me but he told me that in his house there was only one small room which got the sun from 8 to 11 a.m. and no other room had the sun. So a house like that will not suit me. I want a sunny house, even though it be a small one. So you need not worry about it. Perhaps Gadgil could give me a small house like the quarters in Pherozeshah Road but in that case I would require two adjoining houses.

Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

148. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
3rd December 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st December 1948.

I am glad to know that you are improving and that you hope to join us after three weeks.

I am sending herewith the list of Trustees which we had drawn up. I shall be glad to have your suggestions, as soon as possible, so that the whole matter may be finalised at the meeting on the 7th December.

You have made some comments on the Kasturba Trust. This is the first time I hear that any objection is being raised to contribution to the Gandhi National Memorial Fund on account of the so-called defective working of the Kasturba Fund.

I am afraid it will not be possible to avoid disturbing a Minister for your house because the house is intended for the residence of a Minister and, if you vacate it, some Minister will have to go there. Gadgil has gone away for a couple of days. When he comes back, I shall ask him what progress he has made in making arrangements about a house for you.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Pd.
President, Indian National Congress
Bajajwadi, Wardha.

Enclosure:

(Provisional list of Trustees)

1. The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
2. The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
3. The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
4. The Hon'ble Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
5. The Hon'ble Jagjivan Ram
6. The Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
7. The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
8. His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
9. Shri Devdas Gandhi
10. Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani
11. Shri J.C. Kumarappa
12. Acharya Kripalani
13. The Hon'ble Dr. M.D.D. Gilder
14. The Maharaja of Gwalior
15. The Maharaja of Darbhanga
16. The Hon'ble Mr. G.V. Mavalankar
17. Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai
18. Mr. J.R.D. Tata
19. Shri Purushottamdas Tandon
20. Sir Shri Ram
21. Mr. A.P. Benthall
22. Shri G.D. Birla
23. One Sikh

149. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Bajajwadi
Wardha
6th December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai

I have received your letter together with the provisional list of Trustees which had been drawn up. It appears from the draft of the Trust Deed, paragraph 19, that the Executive Committee of the Trust shall consist of 11 Trustees, viz., the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Secretary and 8 members who will be elected by the Trustees from amongst themselves provided that out of such 8 not less than 5 shall, as far as possible, be persons actively engaged in any of the activities in furtherance of the objects of the Trust. Looking at the provisional list of

Trustees I do not find such 5 persons on the list. On the other hand if it is strictly construed, Sj. J.C. Kumarappa is the only person who can be said to be actively engaged in any of the constructive activities contemplated by the Trust. Either this clause has to be amended or we must have at least 7 or 8 persons out of 25 who may be persons said to be actively engaged in any of the activities so that 5 out of them can be elected to the Executive Committee. Looking at the list I find that all the persons mentioned here are busy persons having heavy responsibilities in their personal capacities in some kind of work or other. If the Trust has to work successfully, we must have at least some who may be able to give sufficient time to the work of the Trust. I would, therefore, suggest the following names for appointment as Trustees: Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Shri Shankarrao Deo, Congress President ex-officio, Shri Kishorelal Bhai, Shri Zakir Husain, Shri Gope Bandhu Choudhary or Shri Narayandas Gandhi, and Shri Pakvasa.

They are also busy people but their work is more allied to the kind of work which the Sangh will have to undertake. An effort should be made to induce some people from among the people mentioned in the provisional list or the names I am suggesting or even from outside these lists to take up this work as their whole-time job. I think the work will be very heavy and unless there are some people giving their whole attention to it, we may not be able to do full justice to the Trust. These are the names which have struck me here. Other names might strike you and other friends there and the final choice should be made after this. Our idea was that we should have up to 25 Trustees. I think we may go up to 30, leaving 3 or 4 places unoccupied at present. From the provisional list you might drop Smt. Sucheta Kripalani and Dr. Gilder. You would thus have 21 left and if you took all the 7 that I am suggesting, you will still have 2 vacancies left and if you drop Maulana and replace him by Zakir Husain, then you shall have 3 vacancies left. These are my suggestions for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi.

150. *To Jugal Kishore*

Bajajwadi, Wardha
7th December 1948

My dear Jugal Kishoreji,

I have received your letter dated 1st December 1948. I am gradually

improving but I am not fit enough to come to Delhi for the meeting of the Working Committee or even to attend the Congress.

As regards the decisions of the Working Committee regarding the reconstitution of Provincial Congress Committees in regions where Ad Hoc Committees function I have of course nothing to say. I have not with me the agreement reached between the parties and other papers regarding the Vindhya Pradesh Committee and I am, therefore, not in a position to understand how far that agreement is altered by the decisions of the States Sub-Committee. I would not like that decision to be disturbed without the States Committee giving the parties a chance to place their viewpoints. If the effect of Sub-Committee decisions is substantially to maintain the agreement, I have nothing to say. But on the other hand if it alters the composition of the Committee substantially then I would suggest that the parties should be heard before taking any decision. After giving the parties an opportunity any decision that may be taken by the Sub-Committee may be accepted with reference to me.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Acharya Jugal Kishore
Secretary, A.I.C.C.
7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi.

151. To Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

Bajajwadi
Wardha
8th December 1948

My dear Dr. Pattabhi,

Since coming here there has been some improvement in my health but the progress is slow and I do not consider myself fit physically to undertake a journey to Jaipur. It is a great disappointment to me but I am sorry I cannot help it. I hope things will pass off quite successfully and satisfactorily under your guidance.

I sent a note to Shankarrao Deo drawing attention to some of the points which are obvious and must have struck everyone but which I thought need emphasising as the future of the Congress is very largely dependent upon the way we deal with those points. I hope you have seen that note and the Working Committee will ask the Congress to take necessary decisions in that behalf. As I have stated therein, I have not touched other points because I did not consider it necessary to make any special reference to them.

I am writing this to you personally and privately for your own consideration. I assure you that if you do not accept any of these suggestions I shall not misunderstand it. If there was any chance of our meeting, I would not have written this.

In the composition of the Working Committee I feel that you must give one seat to Harijans. I could not accommodate one in the present Working Committee and therefore used to invite Shri Jagiyan Ram for each meeting of the Committee. Now when the number of the Committee has been increased, it should be possible to include him into the Committee itself. In the second place, some of the smaller Provinces have a grievance that they do not get an opportunity of serving on the Working Committee. All the three Congress Provinces, of which the Province of C.P. & Berar is composed, two have had representation on the Working Committee from time to time. C.P. Marathi or Nagpur Province, as it is now called, used to have Seth Jamunalalji all the time on the Working Committee from 1921 till his premature death. Berar or Vidarbha also was represented on many occasions by Sjt. M.S. Aney. Mahakoshal has never had a chance, nor Assam. Orissa was represented by Mahtab for several years. I would request you to consider the case of Mahakoshal and Assam. I am not able to suggest any name from Assam but for Mahakoshal there are two names which strike me. They are Shri Dwarka Prasad Mishra and Seth Govind Das. The latter is the President of the Provincial Congress Committee and the former is a Minister. This Province comprises 3 Congress Provinces and, as you know, the relation between the Ministry and two of the Provincial Committees is not very satisfactory. This naturally creates difficulties and it is worth considering whether we should not support the Ministry which, after the worse is said and admitted against it, has been doing its work quite satisfactorily and we do not hear the kind of complaint against this Ministry that is freely bandied about other Ministries. For this reason I would like Sjt. Mishra to be put on the Working Committee so that the Working Committee may be in possession of the Ministry point of view, otherwise Seth Govind Das would have been the choice.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
19 Canning Lane, New Delhi

152. To Vallabhbhai Patel

Bajajwadi
Wardha

12th December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The R.S.S. have started the Satyagraha and arrests are taking place all over the

country. I think it would be desirable to give to the public full information about their activities and the reasons which have induced the Government to take action against them. Your speech has to some extent cleared the matter but I think it is desirable that a communique should be issued by the Government immediately on the lines of Shri Dwarka Prasad Mishra's statement which has been published and might have been seen by you. This communique is not required so much for Maharashtra and Central Provinces where the activities of the R.S.S. are well known and where but for the protection that they get from the Government the non-Brahmins would make short business of them but in northern India, like Bihar, U.P., Punjab, they are looked upon as saviours of Hindus. The real motive is not known nor is known that this movement is for establishing a Peshwa Raj and not a Hindu Raj. If this point is brought out and if the secrecy with which they are carrying on the movement is brought out, the people in northern India will understand the true significance. I am enclosing, therefore, a note containing the points which, I think, should be brought out in the communique. Shri Dwarka Prasad's statement brings out all this except one point, namely, that it is a Maharashtra Brahmin movement. This he could not do for obvious reasons but this can be done from the Centre. Of course care should be taken to see that there is nothing such as might have the effect of inciting non-Brahmins against the Brahmins. I am sure you can put the things in the best way possible.

There is another point which also deserves attention. The trial in the Fort has gone on for a long time and I am not sure if it will end before Bapu's Varshik Shraddh. Trial was of course inevitable but the way in which it is being reported, it looks as if those on trial are made heroes and all the tricks of dramatising the whole thing are employed by reporters. One can understand the proceedings being reported but it is difficult to see how it forms part of the proceedings which needs publicity to state that Mr. Godse, while reading his statement, had to sip water from time to time, or that Mr. Savarkar broke down and tears rolled down his cheeks and that everybody listened to his statement in pin-drop silence indicating that they all shared his sentiments. I wonder if the Judge also is sought to be included among the people affected. As one paper has written, it looks as if after successfully murdering his body, they are successfully going to murder his memory also and make heroes of those involved in the murder. It is rather late to take any action at this stage. I do not know what action could be taken. But it was perhaps possible to confine the reporting to the proceedings of the court and not permit any other happening in the court or comments by the reporters to be published. It is possible that in the course of the defence argument opportunity may be taken to indulge in comments or adopt a method of reporting which may have the effect of apotheosising the accused and if something can be done to prevent at least this much it may be worthwhile.

Enclosure:

(A note on the R.S.S.)

In view of the ill-advised 'Satyagraha' movement launched recently by the R.S.S., it will be useful to know certain salient and significant features of this organisation. Unfortunately these points, though well known to the general public in the Central Provinces where the R.S.S. originated, are not clearly understood by the people in the rest of the country. The main points are summarised below:

1. The R.S.S. started in Nagpur in 1923 as some sort of a Hindu Boy Scout movement. Gradually it developed into a communal militarist organisation with violent tendencies.
2. The R.S.S. has been a purely Maharashtrian Brahmin organisation. The Non-Brahmin Maharashtrians who constitute the bulk of Central Provinces and Maharashtra have no sympathy with it.
3. Even in the other Provinces the chief organisers and whole-time workers will be found to be inevitably Maharashtrian Brahmins.
4. Through the R.S.S. the Maharashtrian Brahmins have been dreaming of establishing in India a Peshwa Raj after the withdrawal of the Britishers. The R.S.S. flag is the Bhagwa flag of the Peshwas. The R.S.S. people argue that the Peshwas—Maharashtrian rulers—were the last to be conquered by the British and, after the termination of British rule in India, the Maharashtrians should be vested with political powers.
5. The R.S.S. practises secret and violent methods which promote fascism. No regard is paid to truthful means and constitutional methods.
6. There is no constitution of the organisation; its aims and objects have never been clearly defined. The general public is usually told that its aim is only physical training but the real aims are not conveyed even to the rank and file of the R.S.S. members. Only the inner circle is taken into confidence.
7. There are no records of proceedings of the R.S.S. organisation; no membership registers are maintained. There are also no records of its income and expenditure. The R.S.S. is thus strictly secret as regards its organisation. It has consequently developed along fascist lines and is definitely a potential menace to public peace.

153. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

Bajajwadi
Wardha

20th December 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have followed the proceedings of the Congress through the Press and the

radio and I am glad that everything has passed off very satisfactorily.

I had planned to return to Delhi in time to be able to attend the session of the Assembly after the Congress recess. But during the last few days there has been a mild relapse and it may be that I may be detained for a few days longer. But I have not given up the hope of being present on the opening day.

The news from Indonesia is disturbing. I do not know if we can give any practical aid but our sympathies are all with the Indonesian Republic. Your statement in the Congress about it must prove heartening to them.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi.

154. To Vallabhbhai Patel

Bajajwadi
Wardha
20 December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have followed the proceedings of the Congress and I am glad that everything has passed off satisfactorily.

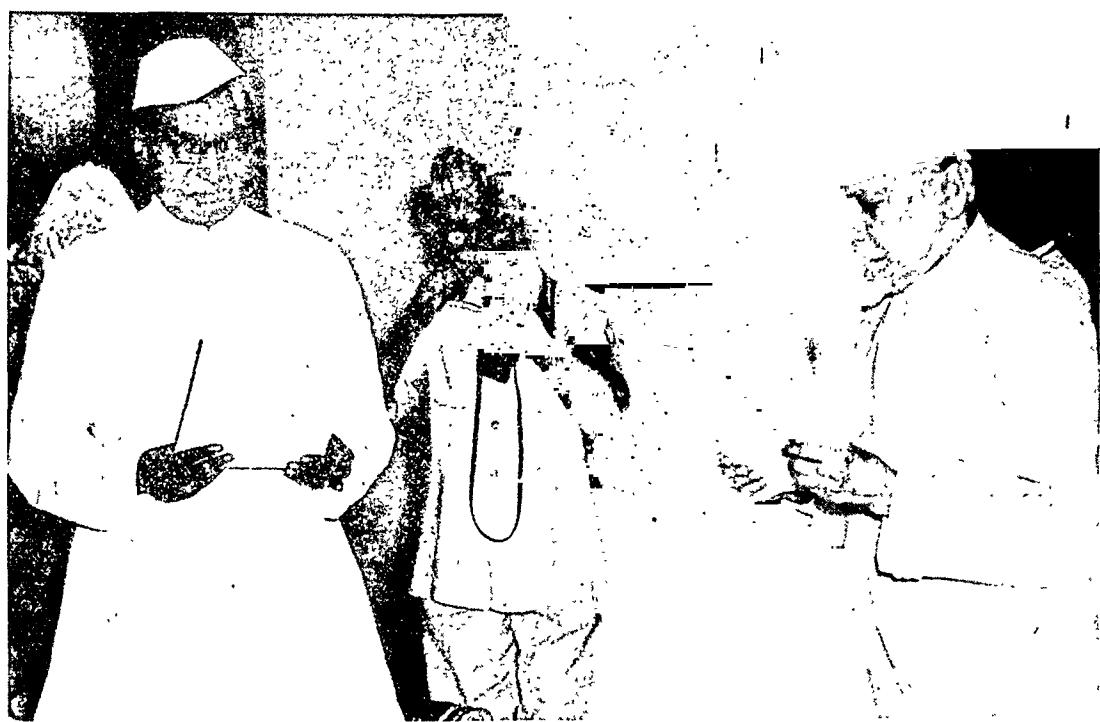
I had planned to return to Delhi on the 25th to attend the opening session of the Assembly on the 27th. But during the last few days I have had a mild relapse which may necessitate my stay here for a few days more. I am still hoping, however, to come as soon as possible and attend the session. I hope the heavy strain of the Congress and various other functions that you have had for nearly a month has not acted adversely on your health. I beg you to observe the doctors' advice and not to undertake too much. You need have no anxiety about me.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi.



Dr. Rajendra Prasad at the spinning wheel



Dr. Rajendra Prasad administering oath of office to Abul Kalam Azad as Education Minister in 1950

155. *From Shankarrao Deo*

7 Jantar Mantar Road

New Delhi

23 December 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

We have all returned from Jaipur. It was a Kumbha Mela. The arrangements were made on such a big scale that order and discipline could hardly be maintained there. As for the result from the clarification point, I may say it was a success. You must have read in the Press an account of the happenings there, and also the resolutions passed. 'Standards of Public Conduct' must have drawn your attention. Your note was its basis. I had to try my best to get it through. The storm over it in the Subjects Committee must not have failed to draw your special attention. It was not very happy. Anyhow we managed it peacefully. I am sorry that your appeal about the G.N.M. Fund did not reach me in time. I propose to issue it to the Press in a day or two. I have drawn Dr. Pattabhi's attention to your letter dated 15th December addressed to him and he has replied to you.

We were expecting you here in a day or two. But I learn that there is a little relapse and you are not feeling well. I hope this will be a temporary thing and you will soon come to Delhi and take up the normal work. The Constituent Assembly is beginning on the 27th.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Bajajwadi, Wardha (C.P.).

156. *From Dr. John Matthai*

No. 8939-PSF/48

New Delhi
December 23, 1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I was glad to get your letter of the 20th instant, and to know that you hope to be able to attend the Constituent Assembly after the Congress recess. We have all missed you very much, and I shall look forward to having an opportunity of seeing you shortly.

As regards Mr. B.C. Banerji, I cannot say at present what openings there are likely to be for an officer of his standing and experience. I am pleased to note the appreciative terms in which Mr. S.K. Das has spoken of his work on the Linguistic

Provinces Commission, and shall keep his name in mind if a suitable opportunity arises.

With kindest regards, and with every good wish,

Yours sincerely,
John Matthai

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Constituent Assembly
Camp: Bajajwadi, Wardha (C.P.).

157. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Pilani
26th December 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th December 1948. I am sorry to hear that you have had a relapse, but I hope you have got over it quickly. Before you come to Delhi, you must have some strength. Therefore do not be in a hurry to come. The Constituent Assembly work is going on as well as can be expected and you need have no worry about it. I also received a letter from you regarding the R.S.S. I think my speech at the Congress session has done the work of the statement which you suggested.

2. I came to Pilani on the 23rd. For the first two days I was laid up with an attack of diarrhoea, which I brought from Delhi. I am much better now and hope by the time I return on the 29th I shall have recouped somewhat from the strain of the previous month or so.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Pd.
Bajajwadi, Wardha.

158. *To Shankarrao Deo*

Bajajwadi, Wardha
28 December 1948

My dear Shankarrao,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 23rd instant. I have followed the

proceedings of the Congress through the Press and radio and some friends have also returned from there who have given their personal impression. They all agree in the description which you have given in one word: 'Kumbhmela'. I am afraid the Reception Committee has to face a big deficit. As you know, I warned them more than once from Pilani to cut down their expenses but somehow or other they had their own grandiose notions and proceeded under what is locally known there as 'Jharshahi fashion'. But I think they are in a better position than any other Reception Committee to meet the deficit because there are so many rich people on whom they could count. The only difficulty will be that people do not worship the setting sun and many may not be willing to meet the expenses already incurred. However it is their headache, not ours.

I have seen the discussion and comments by some papers on the Public Conduct Resolution. I was not very happy to read all that but we need not worry about that.

I have already issued an appeal from here about the Gandhi National Memorial Fund asking Congressmen to devote the time between now and the 30th January to this work. You might have seen it. I sent it to the A.P.I. and have seen it reproduced in the papers.

I have had a relapse and so my return has been delayed. I am hoping to reach there on the 1st.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri Shankarrao Deo
3 Electric Lane, New Delhi.

159. *To S.K. Dar*

Camp: Bajajwadi
Wardha
28th December 1948

My dear Shri Dar,

I informed you that I had written to Dr. John Matthai about Sj. B.C. Banerji. I am giving below an extract from a letter which I have received in reply:

"As regards Mr. B.C. Banerji, I cannot say at present what openings there are likely to be for an officer of his standing and experience. I am pleased to note the appreciative terms in which Mr. S.K. Dar has spoken of his work on the Linguistic Provinces Commission, and shall keep his name in mind if a suitable opportunity arises."

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri S.K. Dar
Chairman, Linguistic Provinces Commission
37 Canning Road, Allahabad.

160. To Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. H.C. Mookerjee, and Sir B.N. Rau

Bajajwadi
Wardha

29 December 1948

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
DOCTOR H C MOOKERJEE
SIR B N RAU

HAVE HAD RELAPSE AND TEMPERATURE SINCE YESTERDAY IF PRESENT CONDITION PERSISTS RETURN TO DELHI ON THE FIRST JANUARY IMPRACTICABLE AND ALSO UNDESIRABLE IN VIEW ADJOURNMENT SESSION SEVENTH WRITING

RAJENDRAPRASAD

CORRESPONDENCE

PART II

1. *From Chakradhar Sharan to Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
1 August 1948

My dear Sir,

Your letters dated 23rd, 26th, as also your previous letters and the memorandum prepared by you have been received. For the last one week or so Rajendra Babu has been lying ill with his old trouble of asthma and cough. The wet weather here is responsible for his ill health. He is not therefore attending to his correspondence or doing any other work. Doctors have advised him to go to Pilani (Jaipur) and he is going there tomorrow, the 2nd of August. He has asked me to inform you that as soon as he is fit, he would go through them and write to you.

As regards the newspapers' report about extension of the terms of reference of the Linguistic Commission, I have to tell you that it is not at all correct. There has been no change in it. After the said news was circulated, I received a telephone [call] from the All India Radio making enquiries about its authenticity. Rajendra Babu was out at that time and so on his return to his residence late in the night, when I could know that the report was not correct, I informed them of it and also contacted A.P.I. They promised to withdraw it and accordingly sent another message. But it seems, by the time their second message was received, the news was published in most of the papers.

Attached herewith I am sending you copies of some correspondence, which will be of interest to you. Typescript copies of the report of the speech of Rajendra Babu in the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, as published in Patna papers, over which there has been so much controversy, are also enclosed herewith.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Chakradhar Sharan

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law
Patna.

Enclosures not included.

2. *From Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh to Jugal Kishore*

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

6 Suren Tagore Road
Calcutta-19
August 11, 1948

My dear Jugalkishoreji,

I am sure you have been a little surprised over the West Bengal P.C.C. election.

Suren Babu and myself were more or less moving together. But you must have seen in the Press that I supported the candidature of Dr. Suresh Banerjee against Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose. I would like to let you know the reason.

After your scrutiny was over and 149 delegates from East Bengal were allowed to be part and parcel of the West Bengal P.C.C. I told Suren Babu that both the President and the Secretary should not be men from Eastern Bengal. If both are elected from East Bengal, then the people of West Bengal would say that Dr. P.C. Ghosh, Member of the Working Committee, and Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose, President of the P.C.C., worked hard for the inclusion of the East Bengal delegates in order to ensure East Bengal domination in West Bengal politics. Such a thing would be harmful for both and it would unnecessarily cause bitterness. So I said that under no circumstances both the office-bearers should be from East Bengal. Both might be from West Bengal. Suren Babu agreed to this principle before I left for Delhi. After my return from Delhi on the 2nd of August I learnt that men of Suren Babu's party wanted to have Suren Babu as President and another gentleman who was an opted delegate from East Bengal as Secretary. On the 3rd, this proposal was brought to us. I expressed my strong disapproval and on the 4th the breach was complete. So, on the 5th, our people discussed with some persons of the group represented by Shri Prafulla Sen and others. They agreed to the general principle enunciated by me and negotiations on personnel were left to Dr. Nripen Bose on our side and Shri Kalipada Mookerji on the other. Under the circumstances what was considered to be the best was done. Let us hope the result would be good.

The part played by Shri Kiran Sankar Roy in this game was a diabolical one. He was telling Shri Kalipada Mookerji that he wanted to crush both Surendra Mohan Ghose and myself while he made a pact with Suren Babu beforehand. He was asking Kalipada Babu to be the President. But at the same time when Kalipada Babu wanted to resign from the ministry in order to be the President, he stood in the way. He wanted to hoodwink Kalipada Babu and Shri Prafulla Sen and work in such a way that we might not agree on anything.

Shri Atulya Ghosh and Kalipada Babu wanted me to be the President. But I refused.

I have given you an inkling of the internal politics of Bengal. As for election, we assembled on the 6th morning in Kumar Singh Hall at 9. Shri Kiran Sankar Roy suggested informally that the meeting be adjourned. But when he was told that you did not want any adjournment nor did we desire it, then he dropped the idea. Then he suggested: "Let us take an informal vote. Whoever gets the majority should be elected unanimously." I said: "I have no objection to such a procedure." But sitting in a formal meeting with Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose in the chair informal voting was not considered feasible. Then it was agreed that supporters of both the candidates should divide themselves and the number of votes counted on both sides by tellers. Dr. Banerjee's name was proposed by Shri Prafulla Sen and seconded by me, while Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose's name was proposed by Shri Sushil Ranjan Chatterjee and seconded by Shri Kiran Sankar

Roy. Then under the direction of the President, supporters of Dr. Suresh Banerjee were asked to sit on the right of the President and supporters of Suren Babu on his left. Members sat in rows. Sj. Nikunja Behari Maity, a Minister, and Sj. Jyotish Chandra Maitra, a barrister of the Calcutta Bar, were selected as tellers. Mr. Maity was a supporter of Dr. Banerjee while Mr. Maitra supported Suren Babu. Tellers' counting was 175 for Dr. Banerjee and one of the tellers counted 155 and the other 156 for Suren Babu. I asked Suren Babu to accept 156 which was done. Then it was suggested to Suren Babu that names of members should be read out and each man should stand so that there may not be any mistake. When this was going on, at about 11 a.m., some members of Suren Babu's side pointed out to him that it was the direction of the Congress President to hold a secret ballot. Therefore the whole thing should be adjourned. At that time some of the followers of Suren Babu began to make a terrible noise. By then counting of 168 votes for Dr. Banerjee and 140 for Suren Babu was done. On account of the noise and shouting no further counting in that fashion could be done. Suren Babu declared Dr. Banerjee elected. Total number of members present was 334 of whom one left the meeting as soon as voting started and two remained neutral. Rest of the election was finished without any opposition.

I do not know if any protest has [been made] to you. There is not an iota of doubt that Dr. Banerjee had the majority.

I told you before and I am reminding you again that do kindly arrange to send copies of all circulars sent to the P.C.C.s, either to the President or the Secretary, to the members of the Working Committee. Today I see in the Press another circular issued by Dr. Rajendra Babu to the P.C.C.s. While in Delhi you told me that you would arrange to send copies of all circulars. I hope you will remind the office.

While in Delhi you told me further that the Parliamentary Board should be more active and control various provincial ministries. Otherwise things would deteriorate. I believe you have spoken to Shankarrao. I think there should be zonal authorities as before, and the Parliamentary Board also should meet from time to time and formulate general policies. This is very essential.

Please show this letter to Shankarrao.

I hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,
Prafulla Chandra Ghosh

Acharya Jugal Kishore
General Secretary, A.I.C.C.
7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi.

3. *From Nanji Kalidas Mehta to Maniben Patel*

Porbandar
18 August 1948

PUJYA MANIBEN
CARE HONBLE SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
NEW DELHI

FOUNDATION STONE LAYING CEREMONY ON PUJYA MAHATMAJIS KIRTI
MANDIR WILL BE PERFORMED BY DARBAR SHRI GOPALDASBHAI AT 11 AM ON
THURSDAY NINETEENTH PLEASE REQUEST BAPUJI* TO SEND HIS KIND
BLESSINGS

NANJI KALIDAS MEHTA†

*Vallabhbhai Patel.

†Philanthropist; Businessman of Uganda and Kenya.

4. *From G.D. Birla to Vallabhbhai Patel*

Birla House
New Delhi
18th August 1948

My dear Pujya Sardarji,

I have consulted now all the members of the Industrial Committee of the Gandhi Memorial Fund on the question of nominating four Indians and one European on the Board of Trustees. They have suggested that in view of the importance of the industry, trade and commerce, I should ask you to allow us to nominate six trustees in four Indians and one Englishman. I would, however, suggest that you should take five Indians and one Englishman. This, I think, will meet our need.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad wanted to split the representation on Board into different compartments like industry and trade and commerce. I think there is no good dividing line between the two sections, and as trade has not made any large contribution to the Fund so far, I should suggest that you should kindly accept the names that I am suggesting as representing all sections of business, viz., industry, trade and commerce.

I therefore suggest that you should kindly accept the following six names—five Indians and one Englishman: Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Mr. J.R.D. Tata, Sir Purshotamdas, Sir Shriram, Mr. A.P. Benthall and myself to act as trustees representing industry, trade and commerce.

Yours affectionately,
Ghanshyamdas

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi.

5. From Vallabhbhai Patel to M. Asaf Ali

New Delhi
24 August 1948

My dear Asaf Ali,

Thank you for your letter of 14 August 1948. Since then, Mahtab has been here and we have had a conference with the Rulers. Mahtab will tell you what happened. I think they are now coming round and seem to have reconciled themselves to the view that the merger is final and absolute and that it has only to receive the formal sanction of the Constituent Assembly. I do not anticipate any further trouble on this score and if any does take place we are bound to take a strong line.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency M. Asaf Ali
Cuttack.

6. From Vallabhbhai Patel to Jawaharlal Nehru

25 September 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending herewith a copy of the letter which I have received from Rajen Babu regarding the Presidentship of the Congress during the next year. I should be grateful for your advice, particularly whether we should press him in view of his reluctance to stand for election. If you feel that, having regard to the difficult problems with which the Congress organisation is faced, there is no suitable alternative to Rajen Babu, we may press him to stand. The matter requires urgent attention and very early decision, because the time is drawing near and Rajen Babu himself is awaiting a reply.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

7. From Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
25 September 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 25 September about the Congress Presidentship. I have read Rajendra Babu's letter. Only two days ago after my talk with you, when you told me that Rajendra Babu had finally refused to stand for the Congress Presidentship, I wrote to Pattabhi. I told him that I had no objection to his standing and if he got elected, I would welcome it. But I did not wish to take any sides in this matter or to make any public statement. All the candidates whose names had appeared were colleagues of ours, and it was not proper for me to make any special recommendations. This was all right for Bapu. But lesser fry had better remain silent, as I intended to remain.

Now Rajendra Babu's letter puts a somewhat different complexion on this business, as he hints that he would be prepared to undertake the burden of the Presidentship if you and I advised him to do so, although he wishes very much to be relieved of it.

I entirely agree with what Rajendra Babu has said about the fresh problems that are arising as between the Congress and the various Governments, more especially Provincial Governments. Also that the Congress organisation requires careful handling. Indeed, it requires something much more than handling. It requires a fresh dose of vitality. I am afraid there is little doubt that while, on the one hand, the Congress is quite dominant today in India, at the same time it is losing its hold and becoming just a political machine.

I find myself in a difficulty. If I felt that Rajendra Babu was going to keep moderate good health and would be able to give his time to the Congress sufficiently, and further that he was not averse to this, I would have no hesitation whatever in pressing him to stand. But from his letter to you I find that he is very reluctant, and we have seen that ill-health has pursued him for a considerable time. So I am torn between two urges: (1) to press him to stand for the Presidentship, for I would like him to be there, and (2) not to make him do anything which he is not keen on doing and which might be a special burden on him because of his ill-health. In the balance I would say that if he himself thinks that his health will be able to stand the strain and he feels that he should undertake this heavy burden at this critical juncture, I should like him to stand and would be very glad of his continuance as Congress President.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi.

8. From Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
29 September 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a letter from Rafi Ahmed and a copy of my reply to him. I do not know what you would suggest we should do in the circumstances. If you have any suggestion, please let me know.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Enclosure 1:

(Letter from Rafi Ahmed Kidwai to Jawaharlal Nehru)

29 September 1948

Dear Jawaharlalji,

I am leaving in an hour's time. I have written to Khurshedlal to join and have explained both to him and to the Secretary about the work.

2. I would like you and Sardar Sahib to issue a joint statement before you leave for England about Congress President's election. People are taking advantage of the silence and will take advantage of your absence.

3. Mohanlal Gautam has told people that Sardar Sahib has promised Tandonji his support and has undertaken to get your and Rajen Babu's support. Acharya Jugal Kishore has gone a step further. He has told people that Sardar Sahib has asked Tandonji to seek election to strengthen his (Sardar Sahib's) hands against you on the communal issue. He has further stated that after your departure Sardar Sahib will issue a statement supporting Tandonji and will ask the Provincial Ministers to support Tandonji.

4. There can't be any truth in this, but that is how interested people talk. It is being given out that election is between you and Sardar Sahib, one supporting Tandonji and the other Dr. Pattabhi.

5. I would have seen Sardar Sahib about it, but will not get an opportunity. If you consider it worthwhile, a joint statement may be issued about your position of neutrality.

Yours,
Rafi

Enclosure 2:

(Copy of letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Rafi Ahmed Kidwai)

New Delhi
29 September 1948

My dear Rafi,

Your letter of the 29th has just come.

I do not quite know what kind of a statement we can issue. Of course the rumours you mention are quite absurd. In this matter I have consulted Sardar Patel several times, and we came to the conclusion that neither of us should give any public or private support to any of the candidates for the Congress Presidentship and leave the elections entirely to the electors.

Dr. Pattabhi wrote to me about this matter asking for my support. I wrote to him that while I would welcome his election if he got elected, I did not propose to say anything on the subject as all the candidates were old colleagues of ours and it was difficult for me to say anything. It was all right for Mahatma Gandhi to give a lead in such matters but we are too small people to do that kind of thing.

I am sorry if this back chat is going on and various motives attributed to Sardar Patel or me. All that can be done is to deny privately because if we say anything in public that itself gives rise to an argument.

I shall, however, consult Sardar Patel in this matter.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.

9. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
29 September 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 29 September 1948 with which you enclosed a letter from Rafi.

2. I have already sent to Kajen Babu a copy of your letter regarding Presidentship of the Congress and have also written to him that, in my opinion, if his health permits and he is willing to undertake the burden, the best way out of the present difficulty would be for him to continue as President. If, as I expect, he accepts my suggestion, no further action would be necessary on the lines suggested by Rafi.

3. I am glad you have told Rafi in no uncertain terms discounting the rumours

to which he refers and that you and I are agreed as to our course of action. It is incomprehensible to me how even men like Rafi can give any importance to such rumours. Before writing to you he could very well have telephoned to me and found out the truth. Nor can I understand how Rafi should even refer to any rumour regarding my making a statement during your absence. If I had any statement to make, I would have made it while you are here and after consulting you.

4. I am sending back Rafi's letter to you.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi.

10. *From Harekrushna Mahtab to Vallabhbhai Patel*

Cuttack

7 October 1948

Revered Sardarji,

I do not know what has happened to the question of integration of Mayurbhanj with Orissa. I hope this will be brought about as early as possible.

In order to dispose of this question of private properties of the Rulers, I have invited all the Rulers to an informal discussion with me at Puri on the 19th, 20th and 21st and all of them are coming. I thought it would be better to dispose of the matter by mutual discussion rather than by long correspondence. I am trying my utmost to settle the matter amicably.

There is another important matter on which your advice is most needed. A member of our Assembly has given notice of a Bill to stop setting up rice mills in the Province. We see many practical difficulties in accepting this measure. In these days of control, when the Provincial Governments are required to send rice on demand from the Centre, it would not be practical for the Provincial Governments to rely upon hand-pounding at this stage. You know the sentiment prevailing about hand-pounding. This is a very small matter but your advice will be much appreciated by our Party.

I read in today's paper that Babu Rajendra Prasad has withdrawn his candidature for the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress. Please let me know whom you would like to be the President of the Congress. In my opinion, the Working Committee of the Congress should be so constituted as to pull on harmoniously with the Central Government.

Yours sincerely,
Harekrushna Mahtab

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi.

11. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to Harekrushna Mahtab*

New Delhi

11 October 1948

My dear Mahtab,

Thank you for your letter dated 7 October 1948.

Regarding Mayurbhanj, the Prime Minister saw me and I have told him that all that was necessary was for him to sign along with the Maharaja a statement agreeing to merger. We would then do the rest and it was not necessary for him to convene a meeting of the Constituent Assembly. He has accordingly gone back to Calcutta to discuss this matter with the Maharaja and to bring him back.

I am glad you are calling a meeting of the Rulers for an informal discussion regarding their private properties. I agree that this would be the most satisfactory method of settling this matter.

Regarding the rice mills, if you feel that your commitments to the Centre would be affected by your accepting the proposal to ban the setting up of new rice mills, I agree that you should oppose this ban for the time being. When normal times return, the question can be considered in all its practical and sentimental implications.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Harekrushna Mahtab
Cuttack.

12. *From S.T. Thiagaraj to Chakradhar Sharan*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7 Jantar Mantar Road

New Delhi

15 October 1948

Dear Chakradhar Babu,

Today Shankarraoji wrote a letter to Rajen Babu, with which the enclosed copy of "Questions requested to be asked in the current session of the Legislative Assembly" was to have been sent. Please attach the enclosed to that letter. Thanks.

Yours sincerely,
S.T. Thiagaraj

Shri Chakradhar Sharan
P.S. to Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Pilani.

Enclosure.

(Questions requested to be asked in the current session of the Legislative Assembly)

I. Is the Government aware that during the year 1947 Mr. R.P.N. Sahi, the then Commissioner of Excise, gave unauthorised permission for the sale of about 100,000 maunds of Government requisitioned molasses of the Hathwa Distillery to various persons, chief among whom were the following:

- (i) Mr. K.P. Chatterjee of Siwan, who is a partner in business of Mr. Ishwari Nandan Singh & Bros. who are own nephews of Mr. Sahi 50,000 mds.
- (ii) Mr. Mahmood, son of Dr. Sayed Mahmood, Minister of Development 10,000 mds.
- (iii) Babu Pitambar Singh who looks to the cultivation works of Mr. Sahi in village Sathi, the criminal cases of which place have recently been the subject-matter of strong strictures by the Hon'ble High Court against the Government of Bihar 5,000 mds.
- (iv) Mr. R.P.N. Singh, M.L.A., brother of Sir C.P.N. Sinha 10,000 mds.
- (v) Mr. Jaideva Prasad Singh, M.L.A. 5,000 mds.

II. Is it a fact that the above-named persons purchased these molasses at annas four per maund and sold it at rupees seven to rupees ten per maund?

III. Is it a fact that the Government took no action against the Hathwa Distillery for prosecuting them for Criminal Breach of Trust for the sale of the above requisitioned molasses? Is it a fact that Government took no action against Mr. Sahi for prosecuting him for Criminal Conspiracy with the distillers in the above offence?

Is it a fact that, on the other hand, Government rewarded the Hathwa Distillery by giving it the contract for supply of country spirit to about half the area of the Province?

IV. Is it a fact that Government took no departmental action also against Mr. Sahi for giving the above unauthorised permission? Is it a fact that on the other hand Mr. Sahi was promoted to the rank of Commissioner of a Division and was frequently appointed to officiate as Member, Board of Revenue?

V. Is the Government aware that during the month of March last the Collector of Gaya reported Manpur Distillery for committing Criminal Breach of Trust?

VI. If the answers to questions (III) and latter portion of (V) be in the affirmative, will Government state the reasons which guided them in leaving those distillers with impunity?

VII. Is it a fact that Government has been unlawfully withholding lacs and lacs of rupees of some of the distillers on account of the cost price of country spirit supplied by them?

VIII. Is it a fact that the cost price of liquor before April 1947 was Rs.1-5-6 per L.P.gallon and it was recommended by the Excise Commissioner to be raised to Rs.1-11-6 per L.P. gallon with effect from 1st April 1947 in view of the high prices of raw materials?

Is it a fact that orders were passed by Government as late as in November 1947 with no retrospective effect with the result that the distillers could not afford to supply the liquor so cheap, and Government suffered a huge loss of Excise Revenue in consequence?

IX. Is it a fact that the molasses allotted to the distilleries of Bihar were not of standard quality in many cases so as to give an outturn of 2 L.P. gallons of liquor per maund, on the basis of which calculation the allotments were made, and the Excise Chemist, Bihar, frequently reported the outturn to be as low as 0.5 to 0.8 L.P. gallon against the expectation of 2 L.P. gallons?

X. If the answers to questions (VIII) and (IX) be in the affirmative, was it reasonable for the Excise Commissioner Mr. A.N.M. Omar to expect that although the cost price was unjustified and low, and although the outturn was poor, the distillers of Sultangunj, Mankatha and Ranchi distilleries should have still used the molasses for distillation only in spite of there being no legal obligation upon them to do so?

XI. Has the attention of Government been drawn to a recent publication in the *Indian Nation* in which the All India Congress Committee has demanded an enquiry into the Molasses Permits scandal? If so, what action has been taken by the Government in this respect?

XII. Is the Government aware that Mr. Sahi also issued permits to Mr. S. Ali, brother-in-law of the I.G. of Police, Bihar, and to Babu Bisheshwar Prasad Singh, brother of the present D.I.G., C.I.D., Bihar, and that these gentlemen sold the molasses thus obtained at very huge profits? Does the Government consider that these officers will be able to make an impartial investigation into the molasses case when they are themselves involved in the scandal?

XIII. Do Government propose to appoint a tribunal of High Court Judges to make the above enquiry in order to do justice to all concerned?

13. *From Amarnath Vidyalankar to the Secretary to the President, All India Congress Committee*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
25th October 1948

Dear Friend,

Enclosed please find the latest figures of the Presidential election that we have so far received in the office. We are still awaiting the official intimation from

West Bengal and Assam. These reports have been received telegraphically while for Delhi we have received complete report along with ballot papers.

We have to receive complete reports along with the ballot papers from the Provinces within a couple of days, whereafter only it would be advisable to declare the final official results. In case the Rashtrapati advises, tentative results may be declared after the receipt of telegraphic intimation from Assam and West Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
Amarnath Vidyalankar
Permanent Secretary

The Secretary to the President, A.I.C.C.
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(Statement of polling in the Provinces)

Province	Dr. Pattabhi	Sri Tandon	Invali-dated	Total votes cast	Total No. of delegates
1. Ajmer	6	4			11
2. Andhra	186	26	4	166	189
3. Assam					74
4. Bengal					379
5. Bihar	182	68	3	253	422
6. Bombay (+ Sind)	6	38	—	44	44
7. Delhi (+ Sindh)	10	6			20
8. Gujarat	16	93		109	134
9. Karnataka	23	25		48	79
10. Kerala (+ Travancore & Cochin)	70	29			
11. Mahakoshal	23	48		71	87
12. Maharashtra	73	5			134
13. Nagpur	20	12	—	32	33
14. East Punjab	68	20	1	89	127
15. U.P.	129	322	2 + 4		557
16. Tamilnad	181	14	1	196	253
17. Utkal	9	63			116
18. Vidarbha	5	22			38
19. Madhya Bharat	52	15			69
20. Himachal Pradesh	6	0		6	6
21. Patiala and E. Punjab	27	1		28	31
22. Rajputana (+ Sind)	69	38	5	112	134
23. Vindhya Pradesh	2	28		30	34
Total	1,104	890			

14. *From the Private Secretary to Dr. Rajendra Prasad to K. Ramakrishna*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
27 October 1948

Dear Sir,

Please refer to your letter dated 26th September 1948 to the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad, regarding a bill of Rs.75 in respect of the Silver Tray presented to Lord and Lady Mountbatten.

A cheque for Rs.75 is enclosed herewith. Please acknowledge receipt and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) Illegible
Private Secy. to Dr. Rajendra Prasad

K. Ramakrishna
Asstt. Private Secretary
Prime Minister's Secretariat
New Delhi.

15. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to the Rajpramukh of Rajasthan Union and the Secretary to the Constituent Assembly of India*

Bombay
2 November 1948

(1) H H RAJPRAMUKH OF RAJASTHAN UNION
UDAIPUR

(2) SECRETARY CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
NEW DELHI

ADDRESSED TO HIS HIGHNESS RAJPRAMUKH OF RAJASTHAN UNION
KOTAH REPEATED TO YOU

CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD HAS APPROVED NOMINATION OF
MANEKYALAL VARMA YOUR PRIME MINISTER GOKULLAL ASAWA OF SHAHPURA
YOUR MINISTER BALWANTSINGH MEHTA OF UDAIPUR AND KUNWAR DALEL
SINGHJI OF KOTAH AS REPRESENTATIVES OF RAJASTHAN UNION IN CONSTITUENT
ASSEMBLY I RECOMMEND TO YOUR HIGHNESS THAT THESE PERSONS MAY BE
NOMINATED BY YOU TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IN TIME SO AS TO ENABLE
THEM TO TAKE THEIR SEATS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN THE NEXT SESSION OF
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHICH STARTS ON 4 NOVEMBER MUCH REGRET
DELAY IN THIS REFERENCE WHICH WAS DUE TO MY PREOCCUPATIONS ON TOUR I
AM ASKING CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO INTIMATE TO YOUR HIGHNESS
PROCEDURE FOR NOMINATION AND FORMALITIES TO BE OBSERVED

VALLABHBHAI

16. From Chakradhar Sharan to Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
15 November 1948

My dear respected Sir,

This is with reference to your letter dated 3rd instant addressed to revered Rajendra Babu. Your telegram was received in time and he was concerned to learn about your indisposition. Please do not try to come to Delhi till you are fit enough to bear the strain of the long journey and the doctors advise you to come here. A few copies of your Memorandum on the Bengal-Bihar question were received by post and I sent four copies to the office. Later on Shri Shivakumar Sinha, Private Secretary to the Hon'ble Shri Jagjivan Ram, brought 350 copies. These were sent to the office the same day and were distributed among the members of the Constituent Assembly of India.

The President of the C.A. has received letters from some of the members of the C.A. from Bihar including Prof. K.T. Shah, Maulvi Tazamul Husain and others associating themselves with your Memorandum.

Sardar Partap Singh has sent a letter to Rajendra Babu and I am herewith enclosing a copy of it.

You will be sorry to learn that after his return from Pilani Rajendra Babu has not been keeping well. Somehow or other he managed to go to Jubbulpore to fulfil a long-standing engagement. On his return here he kept up his engagements till the 5th. But since then his health became so bad that he has not been able to attend the meetings of the Constituent Assembly. This time the attacks are severe and are not controlled by Adrenalin or other injections. Dr. T.N. Bannerji, who happened to be here in connection with some Committee meeting with the Government of India, examined him along with Dr. Dhandha, his Delhi physician, and prescribed medicines for him. But they have given him no relief. The doctors have again advised him to leave Delhi as quickly as possible. Pilani will be very cold now. So it has been decided that he should go to Wardha and he is going there by plane on the morning of the 17th. Dr. Dhandha will accompany him up to Wardha but will return the next day. It has been a great worry and source of trouble to him that on account of his ill health he has not been able to attend this session of the C.A. which is so important. Day before yesterday morning he drafted a letter of resignation from the Presidentship of the Assembly but before sending it to the office he consulted Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Both of them asked him not to worry about the Assembly business but to take care of his health and go for a change as advised by the doctors. So he did not send that letter of resignation. But you need not worry about his health. I hope that a change will do him good. I had thought of writing

this letter to you earlier but I am sorry I could not do so.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Chakradhar Sharan

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha
Sinha Library Road, Patna.

Enclosure not included.

17. *From Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel*

New Delhi
19 November 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

This morning in the Working Committee we talked about the Constituent Assembly and about the Presidentship for it. I have been giving further thought to this matter, and a report I had of today's proceedings has made me think still more furiously.

It is clear that Rajendra Babu will be unable, owing to his ill-health, to take any effective part in these final stages. It is clear also that it would be unfair to cause this heavy burden to fall on Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee who has not got much experience of this kind. If we are to carry on, as we are doing, this means not only enormous delay but also confusion and possibly even wrong decisions. Many people will take less and less interest in the proceedings, and during our absence odd decisions will be taken which we might consider unfortunate.

Therefore, I feel that we cannot allow matters to drift and we must be bold enough to take a step. The only step that I can think of is the appointment of a new permanent President. Rajendra Babu has already written to you on this subject and expressed a desire to resign. I think he was right in doing so, and he will appreciate any step that we may take in furtherance of his idea. I suggest to you, therefore, that you might explain this situation to him and agree with him that, in the circumstances, it is unfortunately necessary for us to accept the fact that he cannot come and to make other suitable arrangements.

On Rajendra Babu's resignation, we should go ahead with the election of Mavalankar. There can be no other person both from the point of view of competence and from the fact that normally the same person should preside over the two different aspects of the Constituent Assembly.

If you agree with this, I hope you will write to Rajendra Babu. If you prefer you can consult other colleagues before you take this step.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi.

18. From Vallabhbhai Patel to C. Rajagopalachari

New Delhi
24 November 1948

My dear Rajaji,

I am sending herewith a list of members of the Cabinet, both past and present, together with the amount they have subscribed to the Gandhi National Memorial Fund.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
Government House
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(A letter from N. Krishnaswamy to Maniben Patel, giving a list of Members of the Central Cabinet who have subscribed to the Gandhi National Memorial Fund)

Canning Road
New Delhi
24 November 1948

Dear Maniben,

I am giving below the amounts of contributions received from the Ministers in the Central Government towards the G.N.M.F. The amounts paid by the Provincial Governors and Premiers and the other ministers of the Provincial Governments are not known in the central office since the lists of such donations are maintained at the provincial headquarters. I am writing to the provincial committees for this information and shall send you the information as soon as such information is received.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru	Rs.2,500
Shri Jairamdas Doulatram	Rs.1,296/10/6
Dr. Rajendra Prasad	Rs.2,000
Dr. and Mrs. John Matthai	Rs.1,000
Shrimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur	Rs.3,000
Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee	Rs.1,000
Shri Jagjivan Ram	Rs.850/8

Shri Shanmukham Chetty	Rs.2,500
Shri Mohanlal Saksena	Rs.1,000
Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar	Rs.1,000
Shri K.C. Neogy	Rs.1,500
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel	Rs.1,000

It might be that some Members of the Central Cabinet may have given their donations in their own respective Provinces. In that case their names will not appear in the above list.

Yours sincerely,
N. Krishnaswamy
Secretary to the Governor-General

Smt. Maniben Patel.

19. From Rathindranath Tagore to Hiralal Bose

VISVA-BHARATI

Ref. No. G/48/2406

Santiniketan
Bengal, India
November 27, 1948

Dear Sj. Bose,

You are probably aware how strongly we feel that Santiniketan is the place where the World Pacifist Meeting should be held. I would therefore earnestly request the Committee not to change the venue of the Conference. We assure you and the Committee that we shall render all possible help and do whatever is needed to make the Conference a success.

As for ourselves, it would have been very convenient if the Conference could be held sometime in January 1950; but, since you requested me for some date in December, I have to suggest that the World Pacifist Meeting be held during the first week of December 1949. We are free from engagements during the period. The Convocation and the Anniversary Celebrations of the Visva-Bharati fall on the third week of December and it is therefore necessary that there should be sufficient gap between the two functions.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly confirm the dates of the Conference at an early date.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
R.N. Tagore

Sj. Hiralal Bose
Organising Secretary, World Pacifist Meeting
1 Upper Wood Street, Calcutta-16.

20. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
30 November 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending herewith for your information an extract of a report which I have received from the Regional Commissioner in Rajputana.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(Extract from Fortnightly Report for Rajputana States for the period ended
15 November 1948)

Abu
22 November 1948

1. *General.* There is not much to report. Political circles are eagerly awaiting developments connected with the formation of the Greater Rajasthan Union and it is popularly believed that a decision will be taken by the time the Congress session is held at Jaipur.

2. *Political.* Congress activity is concentrated on the ensuing Congress session at Jaipur. There is considerable hustling among some Congress workers to get themselves appointed in Government service and the disgruntled among them promptly become critics of the Rajasthan Union Government. It is hoped that this is an ephemeral phase.

Socialists have been very active during the period under report. They are making full use of the 'Greater Rajasthan' slogan to suit their party objective. It is clear that the objective is to claim credit for the establishment of Greater Rajasthan and then use it for electioneering purposes.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan visited Udaipur on 9 November, stayed there for two days and addressed fairly large meetings. Among those who received him at the railway station were Mr. Mehta, Ambassador-designate to Holland, and Shri Sukhadia, Industries Minister of the Union Government. Mr. Mehta was the president of one of the public meetings addressed by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. There is considerable public comment that an Ambassador-designate should have presided at the meeting at which the Socialist leader vehemently criticised the Indian Union Government and its leaders. Mr. Mehta is reported to have stated that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is the proper leader for the present time and that the socialist ideology is most suited to India.

3. Communists have also been active during this fortnight. Their meetings were of the usual kind—indiscriminate criticism of the Union Government which is said to have allied itself with capitalists.

4. *Law and order.* I have examined the crime figures of the States comprised in the Rajasthan Union for the last three years. The number of reported cases has increased considerably in the States of Mewar and Kotah as the following figures show:

Mewar State—No. of cases reported

1946	853
1947	928
1948	2,026

Even making allowance for better reporting of cases, the position is unsatisfactory. There were 42 dacoities, 88 robbery cases, and 1,111 burglaries as against the corresponding figures of 24, 61, and 414 during the previous year. The Kotah figures are also unsatisfactory.

Kotah—No. of cases reported

1946	658
1947	708
1948	939

5. *Students.* At Dungarpur, the high school students went on strike as a protest against the alleged high-handed policy of the Muslim headmaster. The girls' school students went on a sympathetic strike. The students of the Udaipur High School resorted to a strike from 3 to 5 November, formed themselves into processions creating disorderly scenes in public roads and eventually invaded the Secretariat premises shouting slogans and hurling abuses against the Union Ministry. The Communists were behind the strike which was organised because the period between Dussehra and Diwali was not declared as holidays. Left-wing parties are intensifying their propaganda among students.

6. *Services.* There is great discontent among the subordinate and ministerial staff. Political parties are making full use of this discontent. Congress workers seem

apathetic and do little to popularise the work of their Ministry or do propaganda on their behalf, with the result that Socialists and Communists have a free field to themselves to mobilise discontent and create trouble. There is also dissatisfaction among the higher ranks of the services due to the compulsory retirement of senior and experienced officers on the plausible plea of 'surplus'. I have still received no report from the Union Government showing the progress so far made in integrating the services.

7. *Economic.* There has been no rain during this fortnight in the whole of this region except for light showers in scattered places in Matsya Union. Kharif crops are reported to have completely failed in Bikaner except in the canal areas. In Jodhpur famine conditions are reported from 13 out of 22 districts of the State. In Jaipur though the position is slightly better, it is not satisfactory. Jaisalmer which is normally a deficit area is receiving supplies from the Centre to tide over the present crisis. Seven hundred tons of wheat have recently been sent. Wheat is selling at Rs.32 and rice at Rs.76 a maund at Bikaner, and, in other areas also, prices are showing a tendency to appreciate. The cost of living is going up and the middle and salaried classes continue to be hard hit.

8. *Labour.* The Mewar State Railwaymen's Union are getting aggressive. Socialists continue to be active among railway workers. Congressmen seem to take little or no interest in railway labour.

9. *Miscellaneous.* A Conference of Rulers of the States comprised in the Rajasthan Union was held at Udaipur on 8 November when their claims to private property were discussed in the light of comments of the Rajasthan Government on such claims. Objections raised by the Government have been reduced to a minimum.

Sirohi State affairs continue to be unsatisfactory. Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt has recently been appointed Chief Minister and one of his first acts appears to be the removal of senior and experienced officers from the State service. There is considerable public discontent over the present state of affairs and the sooner the State is merged with one of the neighbouring units, or preferably taken over by the Centre, the better would it be for its peace and prosperity.

V.K.B. Pillai
Regional Commissioner for Rajputana

N.M. Buch, Esq.
Joint Secretary, Ministry of States.

21. *From Harish Chandra Sharma to Vallabhbhai Patel*

RAJASTHAN MOVEMENT COMMITTEE

Camp: New Delhi
2 December 1948

Dear Sir,

Herewith I am sending the statement of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, the

chairman of the Rajasthan Movement Committee, and the resolution the committee adopted in its meeting held on 1 December 1948 in Delhi.

Hope this will receive your immediate attention.

Yours faithfully,
Harish Chandra Sharma
for Rajasthan Movement Committee

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
States Minister, New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(Statement by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia)

Since a year and more, the people of Rajputana have been agitating for a united Rajasthan. During my tour of this Province several months ago, I was required by a conference of all-Rajputana workers to form a committee to conduct this campaign systematically. I deferred, for public announcements by men in authority and private advice indicated that the Province would soon be formed and that any systematic campaign was unnecessary, if not harmful. But events have turned out otherwise and reaction is consolidating itself.

The people of Rajputana, than whom none can claim a braver or more chivalrous memory, continue to be split up into the two Unions of Matsya and Udaipur, the three States of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner, [and] the Centrally administered area of Jaisalmer and Sirohi is being taken away from them. Administration of these areas, which has for centuries been a wild growth of arbitrary laws and practices, is futher deteriorating. Instead of a passion for the single citizenship of India and for a healthy and prosperous Rajasthan, local patriotism, working at cross-purposes, intrigues and an atmosphere of sordid gain and frustration, prevail. I can never forget the sense of tragedy that came over me when I visited Fatehpur, a city so typical of the whole of Rajasthan. It looked like a city of ancient memory dug out after long burial, with its grand but shattered mansions, and on its unpaved streets walked a people with the mark of death on their faces and the feeble excitement of prices in far-away Bombay and New York on their lips.

Into this moribund culture, a new element has been introduced. The numberless rajas and jagirdars and officers of old have been joined to several ministries called popular but functioning without popularly elected legislatures. A working compact between the two, willed or otherwise, is growing. Reason is worse, for it has cast aside the earlier hesitations and has acquired a new arrogance. But the people have also felt new stirrings for the future and their noble memories excite them. They must get their Province and all that it denotes for them.

The idea of Rajasthan must not be confused with dissimilar demands of

linguistic Provinces and revisions in other parts of the country. Rajasthan is a natural and democratic necessity, the dictate of history and the contours of the land, which makes no revisionist demands from sister Provinces, and works out the purely internal destiny of putting broken fragments together.

Great possibilities are lying buried. It will be recalled that the last British Governor-General had looked forward to Rajasthan as a green valley, the granary and dairy of India. I am in a position to reveal the story behind this speech. Prof. Kailas Kaul of the Kanpur Agricultural College made some geobotanical investigations of Jodhpur State more than a year ago. He discovered that the river Luni disappears under the sands and runs for miles and miles until it flows into the sea of Kutch. Under a plan of plant nurseries and tree planting, these waters and the enormous desert around them could be made to bear food and fruit. But that plan has been shelved. The existence and intrigues of many ministries and administrations, coupled with the interests of rajas and jagirdars who might lay claim to this desert once it is green, are denying India its food and Rajasthan its happiness. Similarly, the vast industrial and mineral possibilities of Rajasthan are unused, or squandered under a system of special monopolies granted to privileged persons.

Of equal consequences with the immediate formation of this new Province is the form in which it is constituted. A decree from the India Government, and no one knows how long it might still be delayed, which changes the externals but keeps the existing spirit intact, will mean no progress. Only when Rajasthan, with its one and a half crore inhabitants, including its farmers and artisans and warriors and labourers and its businessmen and scholars, is seized with the will for a democratic Province as an integral unit of a democratic India can the ancient glory be revived in a yet more dazzling way. This a popular movement alone can do, which achieves free elections on the basis of adult franchise at an early date. The rest of India can afford to wait for some months for elections on adult franchise, for it has some kind of popularly elected legislatures, and Rajasthan is also a frontier Province.

Enclosure 2:

(Resolution passed by the Rajasthan Movement Committee)

The Rajasthan Movement Committee has decided that the boundary of Rajasthan should be fixed and the shape of the new Province should be simultaneously determined. No good can be expected only by an apparent unification of different States. On the other hand there is danger of things going worse in some aspects. The Rajasthan Committee gives equal importance to the question of form and shape of unification as to the question that the different States should be united into a Province.

The Rajasthan Province can be formed only by uniting all the present States into one single unit. There is no justification for keeping Sirohi, Ajmer and

Jaisalmer outside because on the border of Jaisalmer the Hind Government shall have equal authority to look after defence as it has in other border lands. Then the democratic government is always more helpful in matters of defence. On the basis of economy, administration, history, etc., Bharatpur and Dholpur should be a part of Rajasthan. In no case should there be any other decision about these two States without a plebiscite. The present boundaries of the Rajputana States should also be the boundaries of Rajasthan.

The experience in Vindhya and Madhya Bharat Provinces has shown that internal differences and narrow outlook increase due to differences in Government services, laws and the internal shape of the Cabinet Ministers. Therefore it is essential that everywhere in Rajasthan the status, pay and authority of the Government servants should be same. To perform this task and to divide the Province into proper districts a commission should be immediately appointed. A public service commission should also be set up. The laws in the whole Province should be the same, specially the people everywhere should have civil liberties. The elected assembly of the Province should make tenancy laws and till then "land belongs to him who tills it" should be the principle acted upon and new settlements and evictions should be stopped. There should be no customs duty on goods imported or exported into or from the Province. All the railways in the different States should be amalgamated into a provincial railway which should be administered by the Province. Salt and the allied industry should be under the Province and the revenues derived from these and the railway should remain in the Province. The structure of provincial taxes and revenues should be similar to that in other parts of India and the administration of agriculture, education, hospitals, etc., and the wages and the rules of the Pay Commission should also be similar. There should be one High Court in the Province and the question of location of this and the capital of the Province should be decided by the elected assembly of the Province. Till then Ajmer should be the provisional capital.

The different ministers of the States Union do not work for the whole Union but work in the spirit of local patriotism and this leads to injustice and maladministration. We must be cautious against this danger which is possible only when the elections are held on adult suffrage within six months of the formation of the Province. This is the first and most essential step to cleanse the centuries-old dirt. The elections on adult suffrage basis can wait in other Provinces for some time but in Rajasthan there is no elected assembly like in other Provinces. The condition of having a Cabinet of Ministers without any sort of legislatures is very deplorable. With the formation of the Province the Cabinet formed will neither be one elected by the people nor will it have the support of the majority of an elected legislature and therefore where it is essential that the election should be held at the earliest possible it is also essential that the conduct of election, its rules and management should not be in the hands of such 'unrepresentative of the people' ministers. In every case, when the formation of the Province is announced the election on the basis of adult suffrage within six

months should also be announced simultaneously, otherwise the lifeless body of the Province will still more deteriorate.

The Rajasthan Movement Committee is of the opinion that the constitution of Rajasthan should be similar to those of other Provinces and all its executive heads should be the elected representatives of the people. None of the ex-Princes should get more than one lakh as yearly pension. To inquire into the personal property of these Princes a committee of High Court judges should be set up. They should be given full right of citizenship of contesting in election only when they give up their pensions. Similarly the Jagirdari system should also be abolished.

With the formation of the Province there should be a scheme of industrialisation on a provincial basis and this scheme should be pushed up by attracting individual investment under State management. The system of monopolies should be abolished.

The density of population in Rajasthan is only 100 persons per square mile when that in the rest of India is 200 and that in U.P. [is] 500. These figures indicate that in comparison with other Provinces there is ample scope of development in Rajasthan. But this is possible only when in the heart of every Rajasthani, whether he is a kisan or mazdoor, businessman or small trader, scholar or brave soldier, there is a burning desire for the citizenship of India together with an earnest desire for making Rajasthan a democratic, prosperous, happy and dignified Province.

22. *From Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel*

New Delhi
5 December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You will remember that the Governor-General wrote to you on the question of his own salary. This letter was referred to me by you. Some days ago I wrote to the G.G. suggesting that his salary might be fixed at Rs.5,500 per month, as in the Constitution, but that this salary should be free of income-tax. I do not, as a general rule, like anyone's salary being free of income-tax. But I think it would be fit and proper for the Head of State to be given this privilege. This, I believe, is the general rule in other countries. This would fit in with our constitutional provision and, at the same time, give the G.G. something that will be just barely adequate for his normal expenses.

Rajaji was at first inclined to think that the salary might be reduced to Rs.10,000 or so without any provision about income-tax. But after some

APPENDICES

1. A letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Valmiki Choudhary, dated 1 August 1948

। वरीन विकटोरिया रोड
नई दिल्ली
1-8-48

चिठ० वाल्मीकि,

आशीर्वाद! तुम्हारा 24-7-48 का पत्र मिला। तुम्हारे जाने के बाद हर साल की तरह इस बरसात में भी मेरी तबीयत खराब हो गई। दमा जोरों का रहा। अब कम हो रहा है। यहां लोगों की राय हुई कि पिलानी जाना अच्छा रहेगा। इसलिए विचार है कि कल तारीख 2-8-48 को यहां से चला जाऊं। श्री हरिश्चन्द्रजी ले जाने के लिए पहुंचे हैं।

कोई काम जब नया सिखना होता है तो उसमें कठिनाई मालूम पड़ती है और जी नहीं लगता है और शीघ्र लिपी में तो ऐसा होना और भी स्वाभाविक है क्योंकि जिन सुन्दर अक्षरों से परिचय रहता है और जिनको आदमी बराबर लिखते पढ़ते आ रहे हैं उनको भूलकर उनके स्थान पर दूसरे टेढ़े-मेढ़े संकेत मात्र सीखने पड़ते हैं। तो भी थोड़ा जी लगाने से और ध्यान से काम करने से उसे सीखा जा सकता है। मझे विश्वास है कि इसमें खूब परिश्रम से काम करेंगे तो पूरी सफलता होगी। हिन्दी शीघ्र लेखकों और टाइप करने वालों की जरूरत दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ती जाती है और तुम्हारी उपयोगिता हमारे साथ और अधिक बढ़ जायेगी। इसलिए मेरी ख्वाहिश है कि खूब जी लगाकर सीखो और परिश्रम करो जिससे वहां का जाना सार्थक हो जाए और लौटने पर तुम अधिक उपयोगी हो सको।

वहां का तथा अपना हाल जब तक लिखते रहना।

तुम्हारा,
राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

2. A letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Valmiki Choudhary, dated 14 August 1948

शशि सदन
पिलानी,
जयपुर राज्य,
14-8-48

चिठ० वाल्मीकि—आशीर्वाद,

तुम्हारा ता० 10/8 का पत्र अभी मिला। उसमें यह कुछ नहीं लिखा कि मुकदमा किस तरह का था और कैसे खुन हुआ जिसके लिए फांसी की सजा गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह को मिली। माफी सभी केसों में नहीं दी जा सकती है और न उसके लिए सिफारिश करना ही उचित होता है इसलिए वगैर कुछ जाने हुए सिफारिश करना सम्भव नहीं है। मुकदमे का फैसला करना ज़रूरी है। जब वह देख करके सतोष हो जाए कि इसमें

सिफारिश हो सकती है तो सिफारिश की जाएगी। मैं शिवाकान्त को लिख रहा हूं कि जल्द से जल्द अगर अभी समय हो फैसला भेज दें। देख करके अगर उचित होगा तो लिखा जाएगा।

यहां से चक्रधर ता० ४/४ को दिल्ली चले गये और वहां से घर जाने वाले थे। जनार्दन बाबू भी आये थे वह भी साथ ही गये। सुना है कि जनार्दन बाबू चले गये, पर चक्रधर बाबू अभी दिल्ली में ही हैं। कुछ तबीयत खराब हो गयी थी।

यहां पर वहन धन्तु की मां और निर्मला मेरे साथ हैं। सीताराम दो गनमैन और जमादार जीतराम और चपरासी चेतराम हैं। हरिशचन्द्रजी बरावर जैसा प्रवन्ध करते हैं। अब नन्द कुमार बाबू भी आ गये हैं। यहां पानी बहुत बरसता है इसलिए अभी स्वास्थ में कुछ सुधार नहीं हुआ है। पानी बन्द होने पर आशा है सुधार होगा।

वहां तुम बजाजबाड़ी में कहां किसके साथ ठहरे हो? बुद्धिसेन तो दिल्ली में हैं। उनकी स्त्री और बच्चा क्या वर्धा में हैं और तुम उन लोगों के साथ हो? सब बातें लिखना कि कहां तक शॉर्टहैंड और टाइपिंग में प्रगति हुई है। हो सके तो पत्र टाइप करके भेजो और लिखो कि उसे टाइप करने में कितना समय लगा तो मैं स्वयं देख लूंगा कि कितने शब्द टाइप कर सकते हो। जैसे पहले लिखा है समय का ठीक उपयोग करो।

बरावर पत्र लिखना।

राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

3. A letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Valmiki Choudhary, dated 25 August 1948

पिलानी

25-8-48

चिठि० वाल्मीकि-आशीर्वाद!

तुम्हारा पत्र मिला। अखबारों में पढ़ा कि राजाजी वर्धा जाकर श्री मनसालीजी का उपवास तोड़वा देने वाले हैं। आशा है उनका प्रयत्न सफल होगा। वहां का और हाल लिखना। मनसालीजी के सम्बंध में चिन्ता है पर मैं कर ही क्या सकता हूं। वह बड़े साधू पुरुष हैं। उनका प्रयत्न सफल हो यह ईश्वर से प्रार्थना है। उनका जीवित रहना जरूरी है। उनसे मेरा प्रणाम कहना।

अपना हाल लिखते रहना। मैंने दो पत्र पहले लिखे—एक दिल्ली से और दूसरा यहां से जिसमें शिवाकान्त के आदमी की फांसी की बात थी। मैंने उनको पत्र लिखवाया है कि फैसला भेजें, पर अभी तक वह आया नहीं है और उसे बगैर देखे कुछ करवाना न तो उचित है और न सम्भव।

आशा है तुम्हारे समय का ठीक उपयोग हो रहा है। तुम्हारे खर्च की क्या व्यवस्था है? जो जरूरत हो भेजवा दिया करूँगा। निःसंकोच होकर लिखना कितना चाहिए। हाँ किफायत से जरूर खर्च करना चाहिए।

मेरी तबीयत अच्छी नहीं है। यहां बरावर बादल पानी बरसाता रहा है। इससे बहुत लाभ नहीं हुआ है। पर अब आसमान साफ होता जा रहा है। इससे आशा होती है कि तबीयत ठीक हो जाएगी।

मैं ता० ४, ५ सितम्बर को दो-तीन दिनों के लिए दिल्ली जाऊंगा और फिर वापस आकर सितम्बर के अन्त तक यहां रहूँगा। चक्रधर चले गये हैं।

और सब आनन्द है।

राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

4. A letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Valmiki Choudhary, dated 19 September 1948

कैम्प: पिलानी
जयपुर राज्य
19 सितम्बर 1948

चिठि० वाल्मीकि-शुभ आशीर्वाद!

तुम्हारा 11 सितम्बर का पत्र मिला। मैं 11 सितम्बर की रात को यहां वापस चला आया और विचार है कि दशहरे के बाद तक यहां रहूंगा। दिल्ली में दमे का जोरों से दौरा हुआ और यहां आने पर भी दोबारा जबर्दस्त दौरा हुआ। पर अब आसमान साफ है और मौसम ठीक है। इससे आशा है कि अच्छा नतीजा निकलेगा। पर अभी धुमना फिरना नहीं हो रहा है। कोई चिन्ता की बात नहीं है। वैद्यजी की दवा जब दौरा कम हो जाएगा तब शुरू करूंगा। यहां शाम को सूर्यास्त के पहले ही भोजन कर लिया करता हूं। कलकत्ता के मुकदमें का फैसला मेरे पास आ गया था और बलिया के कुछ लोगों ने जहां के गोपाल सिंह रहने वाले हैं एक दरखास्त भेरे पास भेजा था जिसमें फांसी हटा देने की अपील की गई थी। मैंने उसे काटजू साहेब के पास भेज दिया था। खुशी की बात है कि फांसी हटकर काले पानी की सजा हो गई। मुकदमा कुछ अच्छा नहीं था। श्री किशोरी लाल भाई से मेरा प्रणाम कह देना। यह जानकर संतोष हुआ कि तुम्हारी प्रगति अच्छी हो रही है। खूब परिश्रम करो कि सफलता मिले। चक्रधर 20 सितम्बर को दिल्ली आने वाले हैं। उसके एक दो दिन बाद शायह यहां पहुंचें। तुमको मैंने लिखा था कि खर्च के बारे में निःसंकोच होकर लिखना पर उस पर तुमने कुछ ध्यान ही नहीं दिया। इसके साथ जब तक एक चैक भेज रहा हूं वहां श्री किशोरी लाल भाई या श्री राधाकृष्ण बजाज या श्री चिरंजीलाल बड़जाते के खाते में इसे भुनवा लेना। यह जब खत्म हो जाय तब फिर लिखना। अगर नहीं लिखोगे तो फिर खुद याद करने का परिश्रम भी करूंगा।

तुम्हारा,
राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

श्री वाल्मीकि चौधरी
बजाजबाड़ी, वर्धा।

5. A letter from Ravi Shankar Shukla to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 20 September 1948

नागपुर
20 सितम्बर 1948

प्रिय बाबू साहब,

आपके स्वास्थ्य की हम सबको चिन्ता रहती है। समाचार पत्रों से मालूम हुआ कि आप कांग्रेस के सभापतित्व से पृथक हो रहे हैं क्योंकि जो नामज़दी हुई उसमें आपका नाम नहीं है। आपके स्वास्थ्य को देखते हुए यह आवश्यक है कि आपको कुछ विश्राम मिले। यद्यपि देश की वर्तमान परिस्थिति में आपके हाथ में राष्ट्रीय सभा की बागड़ोर रहना आवश्यक-सा प्रतीत होता है।

सम्भवतः आपको विदित ही है कि मैं सागर विश्वविद्यालय का कुलपति हूँ। इस वर्ष सागर विश्वविद्यालय के कन्वोकेशन के लिए यदि आप दीक्षान्त भाषण देना स्वीकार कर लें तो बड़ी कृपा होगी। कन्वोकेशन नवम्बर या दिसम्बर में किसी समय होता है। आप शहीद स्मारक का शिलारोपण करने जबलपुर जा रहे हैं, उसी समय यह कार्य भी संपन्न हो सकता है। जबलपुर वायुयान द्वारा जा सकते हैं और वहां से सागर मोटर से जाकर बापिस आ सकते हैं। यदि सागर में वायुयान के उत्तरने का प्रबन्ध हो सके तो आप हमारे प्रान्तीय सरकार के वायुयान द्वारा नागपुर से जबलपुर और जबलपुर से सागर जा सकते हैं। यदि आप इसे स्वीकार कर लें तो बड़ी कृपा होगी। जब तक आपका उत्तर न आवेद्ध तब तक कोई दूसरा प्रबन्ध मैं न करूँगा।

भवदीय,
रविशंकर शुक्ल

श्री डा. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद
प्रेसीडेन्ट, अधिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी
नई दिल्ली।

6. A note, dated 25 September 1948, from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the Secretary, All India Congress Committee

It appears from what has been stated in the accompanying representation* that the Congress High Command has given some instructions regarding the election of representative from the Himachal Pradesh to the Constituent Assembly. I am not aware of having given any instruction myself. I should like to know if the Secretary or the office of the All India Congress Committee has given any instructions and, if so, what are the instructions. It is obvious that the ad hoc committee, which was appointed to organise the Congress within the Himachal Pradesh and about which there has been so much dispute going on ever since its appointment, cannot be given the sole right to elect the representative to the Constituent Assembly as representing the Congress in that area. I should like to know if any such instruction has been issued. If not, the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly should be informed about the true position immediately so that he may take necessary steps and have regular election of representative from that area.

Rajendra Prasad
25.9.48

Secretary, All India Congress Committee.

*Not included.

7. A note, dated 29 September 1948, from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the Secretary, Constituent Assembly

A question has arisen whether members of the Constituent Assembly who have taken appointments under the Government can continue to be members of the Constituent Assembly. The Government of India Act, 1935, did not apply to members of the Constituent Assembly when they were elected and therefore the disqualifications laid down under section 26 (a) of the Government of India Act would not apply to them. Under the adaptations of the Government of India Act, section 26 is altogether omitted so that even if that disqualification did apply before the 15th of August 1947, it would not now be applicable. Therefore, a person who has been appointed, say, for example, Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan as Dr. P.K. Sen has been appointed, or a member of the Governing Board of the Damodar Valley Project, as Mr. Phulan Prasad Varma has been appointed, he will not be disqualified from continuing as a member of the Constituent Assembly. This is as I read the Constitution at it stands now but I should like to have the opinion of our office on this point. In case there is any doubt, I shall be obliged for a note on the point. In preparing the note it should be considered whether a member of the Governing Board of the Damodar Valley Project, although appointed by the Government of India, can be treated as a person holding an office of profit inasmuch as the Board is a semi-autonomous body under the Act establishing it.

Rajendra Prasad
29.9.48

Secretary, Constituent Assembly.

8. A letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Ravi Shankar Shukla, dated 29 September 1948.

कैम्प: पिलानी
जयपुर स्टेट
29.9.48

प्रिय शुक्ल जी,

आपका 20 सितम्बर का पत्र मिला। मेरी तवियत अब अच्छी है। थोड़ी खांसी और कमजोरी है परन्तु आशा करता हूँ कि दो तीन हफ्ते में जब तक यहां रहना है, ये शिकायतें भी दूर हो जायेंगी।

28 अक्टूबर को मैं जबलपुर जा रहा हूँ। वहां पर उसी दिन संध्या समय शहीद स्मारक का शिलारोपण करना है। दूसरे दिन प्रांतीय कांग्रेस कार्यकर्ताओं की बैठक है और गांधी स्मारक निधि की भी एक मीटिंग होगी। 30 अक्टूबर को लौट आने का विचार था। यदि आपको सुविधा हो तो उस दिन मैं सागर जा सकता हूँ। दीक्षान्त भाषण तो शाम को होता है। सुबह का समय गांधी स्मारक निधि के काम में व्यतीत किया जा

सकता है। बल्कि मैं कहूंगा कि उस दिन सुबह में आप कोई ऐसा प्रोग्राम रखें कि स्मारक निधि का भी कुछ काम हो जाय। 31 का दिवाली है और मैं उस दिन शाम तक दिल्ली लौट आना पसन्द करूंगा। उस दिन दिल्ली के लिए नागपुर, कानपुर, लखनऊ तीनों में किसी भी जगह से ज़हाज़ मिल सकता है। इसलिए कोई ऐसा इन्तजाम होना चाहिए कि मैं उन तीनों जगहों में कहीं भी ज़हाज़ के समय से पहिले पहुंच जाऊं। मुझे मालूम नहीं कि सागर से इन तीनों में कौन सा स्थान नज़दीक पड़ेगा और कौन अधिक आपके लिए सुविधाजनक होगा। अभी तक तो यह भी मालूम नहीं कि सागर में छोटे-छोटे ज़हाज़ भी उतर सकते हैं कि नहीं। इसलिए यदि 30 अक्टूबर आपको पसन्द हो तो मुझे वह दिन स्वीकार है।

आशा है कि आप अपना विचार लिखने की कृपा करेंगे और यह भी लिखेंगे कि सागर में आने जाने का क्या प्रबन्ध है और कैसे आना जाना होगा। आशा है कि आप आनन्द होंगे।

आपका,
राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

माननीय पंडित रवि शंकर शुक्ल
नागपुर।

9. A letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Jugal Kishore, dated 3 October 1948

कैम्प: पिलानी
जयपुर राज्य,
3-10-48

प्रिय आचार्य जी,

कांग्रेस सभापति के चुनाव के संबंध में आपने जो नियम बनाया है तथा जिसे आपने मुझे यहां दिखलाया था उसमें इसका उल्लेख कहीं नहीं है कि सभापति के चुनाव संबंधी वोट किस तरह तथा कहां गिना जायगा। मैं देखता हूं कि इस बार इसकी अधिक संभावना है कि एक से अधिक लोग सभापति के लिए खड़े होंगे और प्रांतों में वोटिंग होगा। अतएव प्रान्तों को पहिले से ही यह बात लिख देना ठीक रहेगा कि वैलट पेपर एक बक्स में रखने के लिए सब लोगों को कहा जाय तथा इस बात की भी हिदायत कर दी जावे कि उस बक्स को प्रान्तीय आफिस से सीधे अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमिटी के दफ्तर नई दिल्ली को भेज दिया जावे। वैलट पेपर की गिनती दिल्ली में ही होगी।

आपका,
राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

आचार्य जुगल किशोर जी
सेक्रेटरी
7, जन्तर मन्तर रोड
नई दिल्ली।

10. A letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the Prime Minister, dated 5 October 1948

कैम्प: पिलानी
जयपुर रियासत
5 अक्टूबर 1948

प्रिय महोदय,

मुझे मालूम हुआ है कि कांग्रेस के कई प्रतिनिधियों ने मुझे कांग्रेस सभापति के लिए नामजद किया है। मेरा स्वास्थ्य ऐसा नहीं है कि मैं इस ब्रोज़ को इस बार उठा सकूँ। जिन मित्रों ने मेरा नाम भेजा है उन लोगों ने मूँझसे इस विषय में कोई सलाह भी नहीं की थी। मैं इस पत्र द्वारा अपना नाम वापस लेता हूँ और आपसे अनुरोध करता हूँ कि आप मेरे नाम को सभापति के चुनाव के सम्बन्ध में वोटिंग के लिए नहीं रखेंगे।

आपका,
राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

प्रधानमंत्री

अधिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमिटी
7 जंतर मंतर रोड, नई दिल्ली।

11. A letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Valmiki Choudhary, dated 9 October 1948

पिलानी
9-10-48

चिंतावलीक

आशीर्वाद-

तुम्हारा पत्र मिला। यह जानकर प्रसन्नता हुई कि तुम अब विलकुल अच्छे हो और फिर से वर्ग चलने लगा है। आशा है प्रगति बढ़ती जाती होगी।

हमारी तबीयत अब विलकुल ठीक है। खांसी वगैरह नहीं है। वैद्यजी की दवा चल रही है। सुबह शाम दो-दोई मील टहल लेता हूँ और बजन भी प्रायः 2 सेर बढ़ा है।

ता० 22/10 को यहां से दिल्ली जाना है। वहां दो रोज रहकर ता० 25/10 को अहमदाबाद जाना है और वहां से 26/10 को चलकर बम्बई से रेल पर ता० 27/10 सवेरे बम्बई मेल से वर्धा पहुँचना है। वहां एक दिन रहकर ता० 28/10 को नागपुर जाना है जहां से उसी दिन जबलपुर पहुँचना है। जबलपुर से ता० 31/10 को दिल्ली पहुँचना है। आशा है कि श्री किशारी लाल भाई वहां आ गये होंगे। सब लोगों से भेट कर लेना है। कोई विशेष प्रबन्ध की जरूरत नहीं है। एक दिन तो ठहरना है।

राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

12. A letter from Purushottamdas Tandon to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 14 October 1948

स्पीकर भवन,
लखनऊ
14-10-48

प्रिय राजेन्द्र बाबू, नमस्कार

गांधी स्मारक निधि में धन इकट्ठा करने की प्रेरणा करने के लिये मैं, 2 अक्टूबर को लखनऊ की सभा में भाग लेकर, 3 अक्टूबर को सबेरे अपने प्रान्त के कुछ हिस्सों में भ्रमण करने के लिये निकला था। 9 अक्टूबर को लौटकर लखनऊ पहुंचा। तब आपका पहली अक्टूबर का पत्र मिला। उसी दिन मुझे इलाहाबाद जाना था। कल वहां से लौटकर आया।

अपने स्वास्थ्य के कारण आप संभवतः कांग्रेस सभापतित्व का भार अब अपने ऊपर न लेंगे यह बात कुछ समय पहले ही मुझसे उन भाइयों ने कही थी जिन्होंने सभापतित्व के लिये मेरे नाम भेजने की कल्पना की। फिर भी मुझे आशा थी कि पिलानी में आपका स्वास्थ्य ठीक हो जाय और आप कांग्रेस का भार अपने ऊपर ले सकें। आप निर्विरोध चुने जाते इसका मुझे विश्वास है। आपने अपना नाम हटा लिया है इससे स्थिति बदल गयी।

कांग्रेस के सभापतित्व के लिये उत्तर और दक्षिण प्रान्तों के प्रश्न की जो चर्चा आपने की उसे पढ़कर मुझे खेद हुआ। मेरे विचार में इस प्रकार के प्रश्न को उठाना अथवा उसको सहारा देना उचित न था। तो भी, आपके प्रति मेरा जो प्रेम और आदर है उसके कारण, आपके पत्र का बहुत प्रभाव मेरे हृदय पर पड़ा और पड़ते ही यह भावना उठी कि जिन भाइयों ने यह कल्पना की थी कि मेरा नाम सभापतित्व के लिये भेजा जाय उनसे अनुमति प्राप्त कर मैं अपना नाम वापस ले लूँ। उनमें से कुछ विशेष से मैंने अपनी भावना प्रकट की। जिन व्यक्तियों से मैंने इस विषय में बात की उनमें से एक ने भी मेरे नाम हटाने की अनुमति नहीं दी।

सभापतित्व के लिये मेरे नाम जाने का सूत्रपात्र मैंने नहीं किया था। मेरी ओर से किसी संकेत द्वारा भी इसकी प्रारंभिक प्रेरणा नहीं हुई थी। मेरी समझ में यह आया है कि जो नीति मैं देश के सामने कभी कभी रखता हूँ उसको उचित जान कुछ भाइयों ने मेरे सभापतित्व के प्रश्न जैसे उठाया है। मेरे नाम जाने में मेरी स्वीकृति अवश्य ही निहित है। इसमें न वैयक्तिक इच्छा का प्रश्न है और न किसी प्रकार की प्रान्तीय होड़ का। मैंने सदा यत्न किया है कि समस्त देश के प्रश्नों में वैयक्तिक अथवा प्रान्तीय अथवा साम्राज्यिक भावनाएं नियंत्रण में रखी जायं। यदि आप तथा अन्य कांग्रेस नेतागण किसी को सभापति बनाने का विचार अपनी ओर से कुछ समय पहले देश के सामने रख देते तो संभव है कि मेरा नाम भी न आता। किन्तु जब निर्वाचन का प्रश्न उठ गया और देश भर के कांग्रेस जनों के सामने मेरा नाम आ गया तो मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि कांग्रेस प्रतिनिधियों को ही इसका निर्णय कर लेने दें।

सप्रेम,
पुरुषोत्तमदास टण्डन

13. *Minutes of the proceedings of the Congress-Working Committee meeting held on 12 November to 19 November 1948*

(12 November 1948)

A meeting of the Working Committee was held on the 12th November 1948 at 8.30 a.m. at 1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi. Dr. Rajendra Prasad could not attend owing to indisposition. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel presided. The following members were present:

1. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
2. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
4. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
5. Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
6. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
7. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh
8. Smt. Sucheta Kripalani
9. Prof. N.G. Ranga
10. Sardar Partap Singh
11. Shri S.K. Patil
12. Shri Shankarrao Deo
13. Acharya Jugal Kishore.

Shri Jagjivan Ram was present by special invitation.

1. The minutes of the last Working Committee meeting held on 5th, 6th and 8th September 1948 were confirmed.

2. The General Secretaries' report on Congress work for the period November 1946 to November 1948 was placed before the Working Committee. As the writing of the report was the responsibility of the General Secretaries, they were asked to get the same printed in Hindustani and English to be placed before the A.I.C.C. meeting to be held in Jaipur.

3. With regard to the enrolment of qualified members it has been decided that it must be open to anybody to offer himself as a qualified member, irrespective of the question whether or not his name appeared in the list of Primary Congress Members, provided he fulfilled other conditions. Regarding effective membership, persons who stand for any vacancies for elective posts shall be required to fill up qualified and effective membership forms.

4. With reference to the formation of regular District Congress Committees in places where Ad Hoc Congress Committees had been working, it has been decided that as the election of primary members is not being held the Ad Hoc Committees should be allowed to carry on Congress activities till duly elected committees could be sent up; but they will have no right of returning delegates.

It was also decided that the delegates for the Sind and N.W.F. Provinces, that

have so far been functioning as honorary members of P.C.C., with no right of voting, will henceforward be considered as full-fledged members of their P.C.C.s with right of voting.

5. *Provincial quota:* The question of the non-payment of the provincial quota was taken up and it was decided that the defaulting Provinces should be informed that the delegates from those Provinces who failed to send their quota should be debarred from attending the Congress Session, in case immediate payment of the balance was not made to the A.I.C.C. office. The new Provincial Congress Committees are expected to pay as early as possible the amount of quota as approved by the Working Committee.

6. *Sanction of the amount spent in excess budget:* The amount of Rs.43,441-2-0 as detailed below which exceeded the budget for the year 1947-48 was sanctioned.

7. The auditor's report with reference to the presentation of a motor van to N.W.F. Provincial Congress Committee was noted and it was resolved that the said motor van worth Rs.8,000 should be shown as written off as a gift to the said Committee.

8. The enclosed budget for the year 1948-49* was sanctioned.

9. The Constructive Programme Committee's proposals were placed before the Working Committee. The Committee suggested that these proposals be taken up at a later stage when a comprehensive programme is drawn up for the consideration of the Subjects Committee of the next Congress Session.

10. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave an account of his talks at London regarding India's future relation with the Commonwealth. Panditji said that the matter was still under consideration but wanted to know the views of the members of the Working Committee on the proposal he had tentatively made regarding the question of dual citizenship. All the members present agreed with the proposals made by Panditji.

11. The question of the future status of French territories in India, namely, Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahe and Karaikal was discussed.

12. The question of the political status of Indians living in Burma and Ceylon specially with reference to the Citizenship Bill introduced in the Ceylon Legislature and the Nationalisation of Land Bill introduced in the Burma Legislature was also considered.

(13 November 1948)

The Working Committee met on 13th November 1948 at Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's House. All were present except Shri Balvantray Mehta. Shri Jagjivan Ram was also present by invitation. Dr. Rajendra Prasad could not attend owing to indisposition. Sardar Patel presided.

1. The Working Committee received deputations from Assam P.C.C., Bengal P.C.C., Cachar D.C.C., Manipur State Congress, and Tripura State Congress, with reference to the question of setting up of a separate Congress Province with

Cachar, Tripura State, Manipur State and Lushai Hills.

The report of Dr. P.C. Ghosh with regard to the Congress organisation in Cooch Bihar State and the formation of a separate Province as proposed above was also discussed and the Working Committee passed the following resolution:

Resolved that the Assam Provincial Congress Committee shall comprise the following areas:

1. Assam (including Cachar and Karimganj)
2. Tripura
3. Manipur
4. Lushai Hills

provided that Cachar and Karimganj shall be free to transact their affairs in Bengali and provided further that each of the aforesaid four units of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee shall be free to conduct its Parliamentary activities including elections to the Legislature and Local Boards, subject of course to the control of the Central Parliamentary Board and Central Election Committee, and that these units shall be free to transact their affairs in their own respective languages.

It is further resolved that the previous resolution passed by the Working Committee at its meeting of 8th September 1948 providing for the formation of a separate Purbachal Province is rescinded hereby.

Also resolved that Cooch Bihar shall be under the jurisdiction of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

The Working Committee considered the question of reconstitution of the Provincial Congress Committee in those regions where only Ad Hoc Committees were functioning as Provincial Committees and decided that their reconstitution should be according to the proviso of the new Congress Constitution and according to the decision taken by it at its previous meeting on September 4, 1948.

The Working Committee further decided that no person is to be disqualified to function as delegate or member of any Congress Committee on the ground that though a member of the Committee or a delegate he had not enlisted as a primary member of the Congress in 1947. The Committee further decided that the minimum strength of a Provincial Congress Committee should be 25 though the number of delegates should not exceed the quota on the basis of population.

It was also decided that those members of the States Sub-Committee who are in Delhi should be authorised to complete the formation of the P.C.C.s in such States where their formation was still incomplete; but in the case of Vindhya Pradesh, their proposal should have the approval of the President.

2. The President and the Secretary of the West Bengal P.C.C. placed before the Working Committee the problem that had been created in West Bengal by the continued influx of people from Eastern Pakistan and pointed out that already the number of evacuees had reached nearly two million. They urged on the Working Committee to suggest measures so as to stop the exodus immediately

and to find out proper means to give relief and to provide rehabilitation to those already migrated.

3. The Working Committee also received a deputation from Western Pakistan led by Dr. Choithram Gidwani, representing Punjab, Sind, North West Frontier and Bahawalpur.

(15 November 1948)

The Working Committee met again on 15th November 1948 at Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's house. Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, Sardar Partap Singh, Shri Balvantray Mehta and Shri S.K. Patil were absent.

1. *Representation of Panthic M.L.A.s in East Punjab P.C.C.:* The question of giving representation in Congress organisation to the Panthic M.L.A.s who joined the Congress Party in East Punjab Legislature, and in the Constituent Assembly. It was resolved that they should be regarded as regular members of District Congress Committees after signing the Effective Membership forms where they reside (and that in case of vacancies in P.C.C. they should be given the chance to seek election. The Working Committee hoped that these members would be given preference in P.C.C. election whenever opportunities occur.)

2. *The letter of the Premier, Provincial Government, East Punjab:* The letter of the Premier, Provincial Government, Punjab, with respect to the political activities of the Naya Panthic Darbar and his suggestion that this organisation should be identically treated with that of the 'Akalis', was placed before the Committee and it was decided that detailed information about the aims and objects of the 'Panthic Darbar Organisation' should be obtained before any action could possibly be taken.

(16 November 1948)

The Working Committee met on 16th November 1948 at Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's house. A general discussion on the current problems and the problem of Congress organisation took place.

(17 November 1948)

The Working Committee met on 17th November 1948 at 8.30 a.m. at Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's house. Dr. P.C. Ghosh, Shri S.K. Patil, Sardar Partap Singh, and Shri Balvantray Mehta were absent. Dr. Rajendra Prasad could not attend owing to indisposition. Sardar Patel presided.

1. The draft resolution on Labour was placed before the Working Committee. It was decided that no action at this stage was deemed necessary.

2. With reference to the question of sending invitation to the distinguished visitors, such as Governor-General, Governors, Foreign Ambassadors and Fraternal Delegates, in connection with the Congress Session at Jaipur, it was

decided that Dr. Pattabhi, President-elect, should address letters to such persons whom he wants to invite.

It was also decided to advise the Reception Committee to make suitable arrangements for their accommodation.

3. (a) With reference to the question of inviting official representatives of foreign countries it was decided that the Reception Committee should be informed that in case any member of the Embassy wishes to visit Jaipur for the Congress Session, and applied for complimentary tickets, he should be provided with proper facilities of accommodation.

(b) The Associations outside India, who wanted to send their representatives as Fraternal Delegates, should be provided with facilities to attend the Session as 'Visitors' and the Reception Committee should be requested to look after their proper convenience.

(18 November 1948)

The Working Committee met on 18th November 1948 at Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's house. The following members were present:

1. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
2. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
3. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
4. Prof. N.G. Ranga
5. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant
6. Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
7. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
8. Smt. Sucheta Kripalani
9. Acharya Jugal Kishore
10. Shri Shankarrao Deo.

Shri Jagjivan Ram and Shri Mohanlal Saxena, Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, were present by invitation. Sardar Patel presided.

The Working Committee received a deputation of West Pakistan refugees led by Dr. Choithram Gidwani and Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, and heard at length their suggestions regarding the formation of an Advisory Council to help the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation in formulating schemes of relief and rehabilitation.

(19 November 1948)

The Working Committee met again on 19th November 1948 at Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's house.

The following members were present:

1. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

2. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
3. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
4. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant
5. Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
6. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
7. Smt. Sucheta Kripalani
8. Acharya Jugal Kishore
9. Shri Shankarrao Deo.

Shri Jagjivan Ram was present by invitation. Sardar Patel presided. The Committee discussed the question of the state language for the country. The process of payment of compensation to the zamindars was discussed and it was agreed that some legal provision will have to be made authorising the issue of non-transferable, non-negotiable bonds in payment of compensation.

*Not included.

[†]Words missing.

14. *Report of the proceedings of the States Sub-Committee*

According to the resolution of the Working Committee those members of the States Committee who were present in Delhi on 19th November met at the Council House and in conformity with the decision of the Working Committee agreed upon the following proposals regarding the reconstitution of the Provincial Congress Committees of Himachal Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, and Patiala and East Punjab States.

Reorganisation of Himachal Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee. The P.C.C. to consist of 25 members, of whom 11 should be the delegates entitled to attend the Jaipur session, and the rest to consist of the existing members of the Provisional Provincial Congress Committees and three more persons whose names are given below.

This Provincial Congress Committee should meet as early as possible and not later than 31st December to elect its office-bearers.

Regarding the filling up of 5 vacancies of delegates, the States Committee has authorised 5 nominated delegates to the Gwalior Conference to function as delegates to the Jaipur session and to be members of the P.C.C.

Regarding the reconstitution of D.C.C. in Himachal Pradesh, the new P.C.C. is to reorganise early such D.C.C. in consultation with the A.I.C.C. office.

The names of the additional members are:

Mandi Group:

(1) Kashmir Singh

- (2) Tej Singh
- (3) Senu Ram Verma (Kumharsain).

Regarding the reorganisation of P.C.C. in East Punjab States the Committee could not come to any decision till some more information was available regarding the respective strength of the other political groups who are prepared to merge within the Congress. It was felt that a representative body should be set up which should include the delegates to the Congress and representatives of other sections in the Province.

15. *Copy of Notification No. 6-6/47-R, dated New Delhi, the 9th December 1948, issued by the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India*

With reference to clause (a) of Rule 3 of the Rules published with the late Department of Revenue and Agriculture No. 1616-F, dated the 25th July 1900, the Governor-General of India is pleased to appoint the following gentlemen to be members of the Board of Management of the Indian People's Famine Trust:

- (1) The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Constituent Assembly of India, *vice* Mr. Abu Abdulla Syed Husain Imam.
- (2) K.L. Panjab, Esquire, I.C.S., Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, *vice* Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.
- (3) K.Y. Bhandarkar, Esquire, Secretary, Ministry of Law, *vice* the Hon'ble Mr. G.V. Mavalankar.
- (4) K.K. Sen, Esquire, Accountant-General (Food, Relief and Supply), New Delhi, *vice* Sir Bertie Staig.

S.R. Maini
Deputy Secretary

Copy forwarded to the Honorary Secretary, Indian People's Famine Trust, C/o Auditor-General of India, Simla.

Copy also forwarded to:

- (i) The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Constituent Assembly of India, New Delhi.
- (ii) K.L. Panjab, Esquire, I.C.S., Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture.
- (iii) K.Y. Bhandarkar, Esquire, Secretary, Ministry of Law.
- (iv) K.K. Sen, Esquire, Accountant-General, Food, Relief and Supply, New Delhi.

By Order,
(Sd.) *Illegible*
Under Secretary

16 *Summary of the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee meetings held at New Delhi on 10 December to 13 December 1948*

(10 December 1948)

A meeting of the Working Committee was held on the 10th December 1948 at 3 p.m. at the residence of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The members present were Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Shri S.K. Patil, Shri N.G. Ranga, Dr. P.C. Ghosh, Sardar Partap Singh, Shri Balvantray Mehta, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Shri Shankarrao Deo and Acharya Jugal Kishore.

Shri Jagjivan Ram was present by special invitation. Dr. Rajendra Prasad could not attend owing to illness. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel presided over the meeting.

The minutes of the last meeting of the Working Committee held on 12th to 19th November were confirmed.

Draft resolutions for the Subjects Committee were discussed.

(11 December 1948)

A meeting of the Working Committee was held on 11-12-1948 at 10 a.m. at the residence of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. All the members except Dr. Rajendra Prasad were present. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel presided.

The Working Committee accepted the draft resolutions for the Subjects Committee on (1) In Memoriam, (2) Homage to Martyrs, (3) General Condolence, and (4) The Message.

With respect to the proposed purchase of a site for A.I.C.C. Office, the Working Committee authorised the General Secretaries to do the needful in the matter.

The Working Committee accepted draft resolutions for the Subjects Committee on (1) Foreign Policy, (2) Foreign Possessions in India, (3) Indians in South Africa, and (4) Indonesia.

(12 December 1948)

The Working Committee met again on the 12th December 1948 at 11 a.m. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Shri N.G. Ranga and Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai were absent. All other members were present. Shri Jagjivan Ram was also present by special invitation.

The Working Committee accepted draft resolutions for the Subjects Committee on (1) States, (2) Sufferers from the Partition, and (3) Communalism.

The Committee again met at 4 p.m. at the same place and accepted the draft resolutions on (1) Labour, and (2) Gandhi National Memorial Fund.

(13 December 1948)

The Working Committee met again on the 13th December at 3 p.m. at the same place.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Shri N.G. Ranga and Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant were absent. All other members were present. The Working Committee accepted the draft resolution for the Subjects Committee on "Economic Programme".

17. *Summary of the proceedings of the All India Congress Committee meeting held at Gandhi Nagar (Jaipur) on 16 December 1948*

The All India Congress Committee meeting started at 2 p.m. with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the Chair. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was absent. At the opening, "Vande Mataram" was sung. The proceedings of the A.I.C.C. meeting held in Bombay on April 24, 25 and 26, 1948, were confirmed.

The report of the General Secretaries for the period November 1946 to December 1948 was submitted and approved. The audited report of accounts for the period October 1945 to September 1947 was placed before the meeting and was accepted.

The A.I.C.C. then met as the Subjects Committee.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel invited Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President-elect of the Session, to take the Chair. Dr. Pattabhi started the proceedings with an opening speech.

The resolution on "In Memoriam" was moved from the Chair and was accepted, all standing.

The resolution on "Homage to Martyrs" was moved from the Chair and was accepted, all standing.

The resolution on "General Condolence" was also moved from the Chair and was passed unanimously.

The resolution on "The Message" was moved by Shri Shankarrao Deo and seconded by Dr. P.C. Ghosh. Amendments were moved by (1) Dr. Choithram Gidwani, (2) Shri Joharilal Jhanjaria, (3) Shri Abdul Ghani, (4) Shri Ansar Harvani, (5) Shri Algurai Shastri, (6) Shri Babubhai Patel, (7) Shri Mata Prasad, (8) Shri Onkarnath, and (9) Shri Kannamwar. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel next addressed the meeting in support of the resolution. Shri Shankarrao Deo accepted the amendment of Shri Onkarnath with slight changes. As a result the last para of the resolution was changed to read as follows:

This Congress urges all Congressmen with all earnestness to face the difficulties and crises of today, both national and international, in the light of that message so that India may grow in freedom and moral stature and

the great objectives for which this Congress has stood may be fulfilled.

The resolution was then placed before the House and passed unanimously.

The Resolution on "Foreign Policy" was moved by Shri Shankarrao Deo and seconded by Shri Jugal Kishore. Amendments were moved by (1) Shri Jagannath Rao, (2) Shri Mahesh Dutt Mishra, (3) Shri Mohan Singh Sahney, (4) Shri Ansar Harvani, (5) Shri Algurai Shastri, (6) Shri Shibanlal Saxena, (7) Shri Joharilal Jhanjaria, (8) Shri Mahabir Singh, (9) Shri Deen Dayal Khanna, (10) Shri Biswanath Das, and (11) Shri Hirasingh Chineria. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant addressed the meeting in support of the resolution. He was followed by (1) Shri Nathulal Singh, (2) Dr. Jetley, and (3) Shri Vijaya Vargiya.

Pandit Nehru next spoke on the resolution. The amendments were either withdrawn or lost when put to vote. The resolution was accepted by an overwhelming majority.

The meeting terminated at 7-45 p.m.

18. *Summary of the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee meetings held at Gandhinagar (Jaipur) on 16 December to 19 December 1948*

(16 December 1948)

The Working Committee met at 11-30 a.m. on 16-12-1948.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad was in Wardha and could not attend the meeting. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant was also absent. All other members were present.

The following time-table for the Working Committee, A.I.C.C., Subjects Committee and the Open Session of the Congress was fixed.

16-12-48

A.I.C.C. and Subjects Committee—2 p.m. to 7-30 p.m.

17-12-48

Working Committee—7-30 a.m.

Subjects Committee—8.30 a.m.

Subjects Committee—2 p.m.

18-12-48

Working Committee—7-30 a.m.

Subjects Committee—8-30 a.m.

Open Session—3 p.m. to 5 p.m. (Address)

Open Session—5 p.m. to 8-30 p.m. (Resolutions)

19-12-48

Open Session—8.30 a.m. to 12 noon

Open Session—3 p.m. to 8 p.m.

(17 December 1948)

The Working Committee met at 7-30 a.m. on 17-12-48. Dr. Pattabhi was in the Chair. All members except Dr. Rajendra Prasad attended the meeting. The Working Committee passed the draft resolution for the Subjects Committee meeting on "Standards of Public Conduct".

(18 December 1948)

The Working Committee met again at 7-30 a.m. on 18th December 1948. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was in the Chair. All the members were present except Dr. Rajendra Prasad. The Working Committee received a deputation of labour leaders (Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shri Hariharnath Shastri, and Shri Khandubhai Desai) associated with the H.M.S.S. and the I.N.T.U.C. The deputationists placed before the Working Committee the difficulties they had to undergo in working in the labour field as against the propaganda of other Party organisations. It was suggested that this must be a speedy process for the settlement of disputes by automatic reference for arbitration. They laid special emphasis on the economic distress caused by the abnormally high price level and wanted the governments to take special notice of the same and promptly deal with the situation as otherwise, they felt, it would endanger the truce.

The Working Committee accepted the draft resolution on "Linguistic Provinces" to be placed before the Subjects Committee.

19. *Summary of the proceedings of the Subjects Committee meetings held at Gandhinagar on 17 December to 19 December 1948*

(17 December 1948)

The Subjects Committee met under the chairmanship of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya at 8-30 a.m.

Shri Shankarrao Deo moved the Resolution on "Foreign Possessions in India". It was seconded by Shri Jugal Kishore. Amendments were moved by (1) Shri K. Kelappan, (2) Shri Algurai Shastri, (3) Shri R.K. Sidhwa, (4) Dr. Jetley and (5) Shri Sivan Pillay. Shri S.K. Patil addressed the meeting in support of the resolution. Pandit Nehru spoke on the resolution. The amendments were all withdrawn and the resolution was accepted unanimously.

Shri Shankarrao Deo moved the resolution on "Indians in South Africa". It was seconded by Shri Jugal Kishore. Amendments were moved by (1) Shris Shibbanlal Saxena, (2) Mata Praśad, and (3) Algurai Shastri.

Seth Govind Das and Shri Babubhai Patel spoke in favour of the resolution.

All the amendments were later withdrawn or lost. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Shri Shankarrao Deo moved the Resolution on "Indonesia". It was seconded by Shri Jugal Kishore.

An amendment was moved by Shri Ansar Harvani. It was lost by a large number of votes. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Shri Shankarrao Deo then moved the resolution on "Sufferers from the Partition". It was seconded by Shri Jugal Kishore.

Some amendments were moved to the resolution by (1) Sardar Gurumukh Singh, (2) Shris Ajit Prasad Jain, (3) Shibanlal Saxena, (4) Narendra Sen, (5) Dr. Choithram Gidwani, (6) Ruplal Mehta, (7) Nandlal, (8) Lehna Singh Sethi, (9) Algurai Shastri, (10) R.K. Sidhwa, (11) Abdul Ghani, (12) Jagat Narain Lal, (13) Nathulal Jain, and (14) Zail Singh. Sardar Partap Singh, Smt. Sucheta Kripalani and Sardar Patel addressed the meeting in support of the resolution. The mover accepted the amendments of Shri Nathulal Jain and Dr. Choithram Gidwani. All the other amendments were either withdrawn or lost. The resolution as amended was passed by an overwhelming majority.

The meeting then adjourned.

The Subjects Committee resumed its sitting at 3 p.m. with Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in the Chair.

Shri Shankarrao Deo moved the resolution on "Labour". It was seconded by Shri Jugal Kishore.

Amendments to the resolution were moved by the following:

- (1) Shri Nathulal Jain,
- (2) Shri Jagannath Rao,
- (3) Shri Shibanlal Saxena, and
- (4) Shri Jogeswar Mandal.

Shri Jagjivan Ram addressed the meeting. The amendments were all either withdrawn or lost. The resolution was accepted.

Shri Shankarrao Deo then moved the resolution on "States". It was seconded by Shri Jugal Kishore.

Amendments to the resolution were moved by the following:

- (1) Shri Ratnappa Kumbhar,
- (2) Shri Shatrughna Sharan Sinha,
- (3) Shri Balkrishna Sharma,
- (4) Shri Ranjit Singh,
- (5) Shri Joharilal Jhanjaria,
- (6) Shri Shibanlal Saxena,
- (7) Shri Ansar Harvani,
- (8) Shri Nathulal Jain,
- (9) Shri Jwala Prasad,

- (10) Shri R.K. Sidhwa,
- (11) Shri B.N. Sharma,
- (12) Shri Sundarlal,
- (13) Shri Bansilal Lohadia, and
- (14) Shri Govind Prasad Srivastava.

Sardar Patel addressed the meeting. The amendments were all either withdrawn or lost. The resolution was accepted.

Shri Shankarrao Deo moved the resolution on "Gandhi National Memorial Fund".

Amendments were moved by Shri Raghavdas and Shri Mahabir Singh. Acharya Kripalani addressed the meeting. The amendments were withdrawn or lost. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Shri Shankarrao Deo then moved the resolution on "Communalism".

Amendments were moved by the following:

- (1) Shri Jagat Narain Lal,
- (2) Shri Mohan Singh Sahney,
- (3) Shri Mahesh Dutt Mishra,
- (4) Shri Algurai Shastri,
- (5) Shri Nandlal,
- (6) Shri Shibanlal Saxena,
- (7) Shri Onkarnath,
- (8) Shri Din Dayal Khanna,
- (9) Shri Yash Pal,
- (10) Shri Roshanlal Vyas,
- (11) Shri R.K. Sidhwa, and
- (12) Shri Ansar Harvani.

Seth Govind Das addressed the meeting. The amendments were all withdrawn or lost when put to vote. The resolution was passed unanimously.

(18 December 1948)

The Subjects Committee met again at 8-30 a.m. on 18 December 1948 in the Subjects Committee Pandal. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya presided.

Shri Shankarrao Deo moved the resolution on "Economic Programme" which was seconded by Shri Jugal Kishore. Amendments were moved by Shris Joharilal Jhanjaria, Baba Raghavdas, S. Nijalingappa, Algurai Shastri, Ranjit Singh, Jogeswar Mandal, Dr. G.K. Jetley, Babubhai Patel, Nathulal Jain, M. Jagannath Rao, Hirasingh Chineria, Abdul Ghani, Shatrukhna Sharan Singh, and Shibanlal Saxena. The mover accepted the amendments of Shri Nijalingappa, Shri Algurai Shastri and Shri Ranjit Singh. The resolution as amended was placed before the House and was passed unanimously.

Shri Shankarrao Deo moved the resolution on "Standards of Public Conduct". It was seconded by Shri Jugal Kishore. Amendments were moved by Shris Biswanath Das, Rohini Choudhury, Mahesh Dutt Mishra, Abdul Ghani, K. Subbaraju, K.P. Tripathi, B.N. Sharma, R.P. Sharma, Jwala Prasad, J. Jhanjaria, Gyani Zail Singh, Yash Pal, J. Mandal, Shibanlal Saxena, Ranjit Singh, and Niranjan Singh. The following amendment of Shri Mahesh Dutt Mishra was passed by 107 votes against 52: In para 4 delete the words "and more specially" in the first line, and after the words 'provincial legislatures' add "and more especially members of the Cabinets". The following amendment of Shri Bansilal Lohadia was lost by 91 votes against 104: "In para 7 after the words 'Government activities', the following words be added, 'and it is desirable that Congressmen holding ministerial posts should not be office-bearers in the Congress Committees and particularly members of the Parliamentary Board'." All other amendments were lost or withdrawn. The resolution as amended was passed unanimously.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant moved the resolution on "Linguistic Provinces". It was seconded by Shri Jugal Kishore. The resolution was passed unanimously.

(19 December 1948)

The Subjects Committee met again at 8-30 a.m. on 19th December 1948. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya presided. The following amendments to the Congress Constitution were moved from the Chair and accepted unanimously:

Article III:

- (a) Include the 5 new P.C.C.s set up in States: Rajputana, Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, Himachal and Patiala and East Punjab States Union.

Article IV:

- (c) Certified Khadi—certified through the agencies approved by the Working Committee.
- (f) The portion of the sentence after the Working Committee in the 7th line should read as follows: "provided his name has been on the list of qualified members for at least one year".

Article IX:

- (d) Add at the end "Such constituencies shall consist only of contiguous areas."
- (e) Delete "in a contiguous area" in line 3, and add at the end after the 'five panchayats'—"in the constituency".
- (f) "full term" in the third line shall be explained by the Working Committee.
- (h) The P.C.C. shall intimate to the A.I.C.C. office within two weeks after the delegates are elected.
- (k) Separate clause 'k' has to be added to read as follows: "The delegates shall be elected for a term of three years."

Article XI:

- (b) After 'ex-Presidents of the P.C.C.s' in the second line add "as referred to in Article IX Clause (f)".
- (c) iv: Second line—add "delegates" before 'fees and subscriptions'.
- (d) ii: Fourth line: delete "one" after 'and form' and add: "an ad-hoc committee".

Article XX:

- (f) Second line—Substitute for 'qualified and effective membership of the Congress'—"effective and qualified membership of the Congress respectively".

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then moved that discussion on the resolution on "Standards of Public Conduct" accepted in the amended form on 18th December 1948 by the Subjects Committee be reopened. The President sought the opinion of the House on it and by a majority of votes the House decided to reopen the question. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then moved an amendment to delete in the penultimate para after the word 'Congressmen' "members of Central and Provincial Legislatures, more especially members of Cabinets". Shri S.K. Patil seconded the resolution. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant spoke in support of the amendment. The resolution as amended was passed by an overwhelming majority.

(Non-Official Resolutions)

The A.I.C.C. office received notice of over one hundred and fifty non-official resolutions which the A.I.C.C. members wished to move at the Subjects Committee meeting. Most of these resolutions were covered by the official resolutions. As sufficient time was not left for their consideration, it was decided that the remaining resolutions be referred to the Working Committee for consideration and disposal.

20. *Proceedings of the Jaipur Session of the Congress held on 18 December and 19 December 1948*

18 December 1948: The Jaipur Session of the Congress met under the Presidentship of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya on 18th December 1948. The proceedings started a 2 p.m. with 'Vande Mataram' which was followed by another national song.

Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt, Chairman, Reception Committee, read his address. Acharya Jugal Kishore read the messages received from Dr. Rajendra Prasad and others. He was followed by representatives of Indians overseas and others who extended their fraternal greetings to the Congress. Amongst them were (1) Dr. Anup Singh from America, (2) Sardar Budh Singh from Ceylon, (3) Dr.

Kapila from East Africa, and (4) Shri Regmi from Nepal.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya then delivered his presidential address both in English and Hindustani.

The resolutions accepted by the Subjects Committee were then placed before the Open Session. The following resolutions on "In Memoriam", "Homage to Martyrs" and "General Condolence" were moved from the Chair and passed unanimously, all standing.

IN MEMORIAM

This Congress places on record its sense of profound sorrow and shame at the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation.

HOMAGE TO MARTYRS

The Congress offers its homage to all those martyrs who have laid down their lives in the country's struggle for independence.

GENERAL CONDOLENCE

The Congress expresses its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of:

1. Shri N.C. Kelkar
2. Shri K.F. Nariman
3. Shri B.G. Horniman
4. Shri M.A. Jinnah
5. Shri B.S. Moonje
6. Shrimati Pramilabai Oke
7. Shri K.P. Khadilkar
8. Shri R.S. Nimbkar
9. Shri Smritis Bannerji
10. Shri Sachindranath Mitra
11. Shri Sushil Das Gupta
12. Shri Mani Das.

THE MESSAGE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then moved the following resolution on "The Message". It was seconded by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The resolution was passed unanimously.

During its long history of struggle for India's freedom, carried on from generation to generation, the Congress experienced both sorrow and fulfilment and many triumphs and defeats. But under the superb leadership

of the Father of the Nation, sorrow was made to chasten and purify the people and every defeat was turned into an incentive for redoubled effort and a prelude to victory.

Two years ago the Congress met in Meerut City at a time of trial and difficulty and again under the inspiration of Gandhiji gave a lead to the nation. These two years have brought fulfilment in a measure, and the independence, for which generations had struggled and suffered, has been achieved. But the cost of that achievement has been heavy indeed, for the Motherland has been cut in two, and following this ill-fated partition, madness descended upon the people and all the great ideals for which the Congress stood seemed for a moment to be eclipsed. That darkness was illumined by the heartening message of Gandhiji, and innumerable sorrowing hearts drew strength and solace from it.

Then came the greatest blow of all, the assassination of him who was the embodiment of love and the gentle unconquerable spirit of India.

This the very achievement for which the Congress had laboured and which was a culmination of long struggle, brought no glow of freedom but sorrow and dismay.

In reverent memory of Gandhiji and in homage to his teaching, the country faced these terrible crises, the greatest of which was the crisis of the spirit which had clouded India's mind and made her forget for a while the great lesson which the Master had taught.

This Congress, meeting sixteen months after the attainment of independence and nearly eleven months after the passing away of him who fashioned it and gave it life, pays its homage to that great spirit and to his great message, and resolves to continue the service of the people of India and humanity in the light of that life-giving message.

Political freedom having been attained through non-violent action under the leadership of Gandhiji, the National Congress has now to labour for the attainment of social and economic freedom so that progress and equal opportunity may come to all the people of India without any distinction of race or religion. This task requires a new positive approach and a dedication to the service of the Motherland in a constructive spirit.

The people of India have achieved independence; but to enjoy its fruits, they must discharge their responsibilities and obligations. Congressmen must remember that it has been and should continue to be their highest privilege to serve the people and to shoulder these responsibilities and obligations, and those who hanker after office or power, forgetting their obligations, do an ill-service to the country.

It was the particular teaching of Gandhiji that service should be directed more specially towards promoting unity and goodwill between all the people of India, abolishing class distinctions and those based on birth or caste or religion, and working for a classless democratic society in a peaceful manner. Above all, the lesson he taught was the adherence, at all costs and

in all circumstances, to the moral values which give meaning to life.

This Congress urges all Congressmen with all earnestness to face the difficulties and crises of today, both national and international, in the light of the message so that India may grow in freedom and moral stature and the great objectives for which this Congress has stood may be fulfilled.

FOREIGN POLICY

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant then moved the following Resolution on "Foreign Policy". It was seconded by Shri Harekrushna Mahtab. The resolution was passed unanimously. The meeting adjourned at 8-30 p.m.

The National Congress has, even while it was struggling for the freedom of India, associated itself with progressive movements and struggles for freedom in other countries. India's liberation was viewed as a part of the larger freedom of all the countries and peoples of the world. In particular, the Congress has stood in the past for the ending of all imperialist domination and colonial exploitation of any country or people, and has opposed Fascism and all other tendencies which suppress human spirit.

The achievement of independence brought new responsibilities to India in international affairs and it became necessary to develop direct and closer contacts with other nations. The Congress welcomes these contacts and trusts that these will lead to mutual understanding and cooperation and the promotion of world peace.

The foreign policy of India must necessarily be based on the principles that have guided the Congress in past years. These principles are the promotion of world peace, the freedom of all nations, racial equality, and the ending of Imperialism and Colonialism. In particular, the Congress is interested in the freedom of the nations and peoples of Asia and Africa who have suffered under various forms of colonialism for many generations.

With a view to advance the cause of world peace and cooperation, India associated herself with the United Nations. This Congress declares its full adherence to the principles underlying the charter of the United Nations.

It should be the constant aim of the foreign policy of India to maintain friendly and cooperative relation with all nations and to avoid entanglement in military or similar alliances which tend to divide up the world in rival groups and thus endanger world peace. Maintaining her freedom of action in foreign affairs and in the economic development of the country, India should continue to function as a member state of the United Nations, cooperating with other states in the maintenance of peace and freedom.

In view of the attainment of complete independence and the establishment of the Republic of India, which will symbolise that

independence and give to India the status among the nations of the world that is her rightful due, her present association with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth of Nations will necessarily have to change. India, however, desires to maintain all such links with other countries as do not come in the way of her freedom of action and independence, and the Congress would welcome her free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their commonweal and the promotion of world peace.

India is especially concerned with her neighbour countries of Asia and the Congress trusts that closer bonds of fellowship and cooperative effort for the maintenance of the freedom of Asian nations and their progress will be developed.

19 December 1948: The Session started at 2 p.m. on 19-12-1948. Dr, Patabhi Sitaramayya presided.

FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA

Shri S.K. Patil moved the following resolution on "Foreign Possessions in India": It was seconded by Shri R.K. Sidhwa. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The chequered course of India's history during the last two hundred years or more has left certain foreign possessions in various parts of the country. These foreign possessions continued for this long period because India herself was under alien domination.

With the establishment of independence in India the continued existence of any foreign possession in India becomes anomalous and opposed to the conception of India's unity and freedom. Therefore it has become necessary for these possessions to be politically incorporated in India and no other solution can be stable or lasting or in conformity with the will of the people. The Congress trusts that this change will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and the friendly cooperation of the Governments concerned. The Congress realises that during this long period administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems have grown up in these foreign possessions, which are different from those prevailing in the rest of India. Any change-over therefore must take these factors into consideration and allow for a gradual adjustment which will not interfere with the life of the people of the areas concerned. The Congress would welcome the present cultural heritage of these possessions to be continued, in so far as the people of those possessions desire and for a measure of autonomy to be granted, wherever possible, so as to enable the people of those possessions to maintain their culture and institutions within the larger framework of free India.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Seth Govind Das moved the following resolution on "Indians in South Africa" which was seconded by Shri Raoji Bhai Patel. Shri Mata Prasad also addressed the Session. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The Congress has noted with deep regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa continues to treat its Indian citizens in disregard of acknowledged human rights and of the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. That Government has ignored the wishes of the General Assembly of the United Nations and even challenged the fundamental principles on which the United Nations Organisation is founded. This repudiation of a vital principle, if persisted in, can only lead to bitter and far-reaching racial conflicts and may even result in the break-up of the United Nations Organisation.

The Congress expresses its full sympathy with all those who have suffered by the policy of racial discrimination of the Government of the Union of South Africa.

INDONESIA

Acharya Jugal Kishore then moved the resolution on "Indonesia" which was seconded by Shri Deshpande. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The Congress sends its greetings to the leaders and people of the Indonesian Republic, who have struggled for their freedom against difficulties during the past three years. It assures them of its complete sympathy for their cause. The people of Indonesia have been culturally associated with the people of India for ages past and it is a matter of the utmost concern to India that Indonesia should attain her full freedom and take her rightful part in Asian and international affairs.

STATES

Shri Balvantray Mehta moved the following resolution on "States". It was seconded by Shri Shanti Saran (Rampur State), Shri Harbans Lal (East Punjab States), Shri Dulichand Trivedi (Rajasthan Union), Shri Kulwantrai (Patiala & East Punjab States), Shri Y.S. Parmar, Shri Gian Chand (Patiala & East Punjab States), Shri Gunanand Sharma (Tehri State), Shri Satya Dev Bushari (Himachal), and Shri Sitaram Dwivedi (Benares State) spoke on the Resolution. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel also addressed the Session. The Resolution was passed unanimously.

The Congress welcomes the developments that have taken place in

regard to the States in India, resulting in the ending of the Indian States system which the British Government had built up early in the 19th century. While welcoming this process of integration, merger and union, so as to make the States approximate to the Provinces, the Congress trusts that all feudal relics and impediments to the free development of the people will be removed.

SUFFERERS FROM THE PARTITION

Sardar Partap Singh then moved the following resolution on "Sufferers from the Partition". It was seconded by Shri N.V. Gadgil. Smt. Sharda Bhargava (Jaipur), Shri Roshanlal Vyas (E. Punjab), Shri Bhalchandra Sharma (Bengal), Shri N. Sanyal (Bengal), Shri Narendra Nath Sen (Bengal), Shri Ranbir Singh Mehta (Punjab), Smt. Sucheta Kripalani, and Smt. Mridula Sarabhai also addressed the gathering.

On the suggestion of the President, the amendment of Shri Tulsiram Sarogi to the effect that the words "and the non-official organisations" should be added after 'Central, Provincial and State Governments', was incorporated in the resolution. The resolution was passed unanimously.

This Congress records its deep sorrow at the death, by internecine conflicts, of vast numbers of the people of this country belonging to every religion, during the disturbances that preceded and followed the Partition. The Congress extends its heart-felt sympathy to all their relatives and to all the refugees who have suffered untold misery and lost all they possessed, and borne their sufferings with fortitude. While appreciating the work that the Central, Provincial and State Governments and the non-official organisations have done to give relief to and rehabilitate these refugees, the Congress trusts that every effort will be made both by Government, Congress organisations and people to expedite this work and more particularly that children and young people will be specially cared for and given opportunities of education and development.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the Session and dwelt at length on the problem of refugees.

COMMUNALISM

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant then moved the following resolution on "Communalism" which was seconded by Shri Purushottamdas Tandon. Among others who spoke on the resolution were Shri Anantasayanam Ayyangar, Sardar Zail Singh, Shri Harihar Lal Bhargava, Sardar Mohan Singh Sahney and Shri Ansar Harvani. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Ever since its inception, the National Congress has conceived and striven for a nation where the people of all religions and races should have equal rights and opportunities and should function together as citizens of India. It has opposed communalism and separatism which weaken the nation and come in the way of all progress and cooperative effort. Keeping this ideal in view, it has nevertheless, by stress of circumstances, and by the pressure of the dominating power at the time, accepted certain compromises, which introduced an element of communalism in the public life of the country. In spite of the efforts of the Congress, communal forces, exploiting the name of religion, grew in strength and resulted not only in the partition of the country, but also in the foul assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

The terrible experiences through which the country has passed have demonstrated the evil that communalism brings in its train and have shown that the freedom of the Indian nation, as of every component part of it, is imperilled by these communal and separatist tendencies. In order, therefore, to preserve the hard-won freedom of the country and for the nation to grow and prosper and enjoy the fruits of this freedom, it has become essential to put an end to the spirit of communalism which has already caused so much grievous injury.

The long past of India is evidence of the spirit of tolerance which was the basis of life and culture in this country. India has been and is a land of many religions and many races and must remain so. The freedom of India can only be based on a recognition of an overriding unity binding together the richly varied cultural life of the country, which should have full play. The aim of the Congress has therefore been to develop this great country as a democratic secular state which neither favours nor discriminates against any particular religion.

This Congress reiterates this objective and declares its firm resolve not to permit communalism or the misuse of religion as a political weapon for anti-national and socially reactionary purposes. The Congress calls upon the country to make a supreme effort to restore goodwill, peace and harmony among the various communities that form the nation.

It is for this that Mahatma Gandhi laboured, and it was for this that he ultimately sacrificed his precious life. To every Indian, and more particularly to every Congressman, he has left this great legacy and example.

LABOUR

Shri Jagjivan Ram then moved the following resolution on "Labour". It was seconded by Shri Shankarrao Deo. Other speakers on the resolution were General Awari, Shri Algurai Shastri, Shri Satyanarayan Raju, Smt. Ram Dulari Sinha, and Shri M.C. Tapde (Vidarbha). The resolution was passed unanimously.

The National Congress has always stood for the rights of the working class and for ending exploitation in every shape or form. Even while engaged in a life and death struggle to achieve the freedom of the country, it never lost sight of its essential duty of protecting and advancing the vital interests of the worker, whether in the field or in the factory. Mahatma Gandhi's successful intervention in the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Dispute in 1918 ushered a new era in the peaceful settlements of industrial disputes between organised labour and capital. Congress Committees as well as individual Congressmen have worked ceaselessly in the service of the working class and have held aloft the ideal of securing social justice to the worker. The growth and development of Trade Unionism in this country owed much to the active sympathy, support and guidance of leading Congressmen and the Congress organisation.

With the achievement of independence, the task of more direct and active participation in the programme of ameliorating the condition of the working class devolves more squarely on this great national organisation. Believing that political freedom is the fountainhead of all other freedoms, social and economic, the Congress concentrated the bulk of its energies on the elimination of imperialistic exploitation. Now that independence has been achieved the Congress calls upon its members and its constituent bodies to take more active interest in the labour field, to strengthen their links with the workers in fields and factories and to promote just relations between labour and management.

The Congress appreciates the progressive policy of labour legislation undertaken by the Central and Provincial Governments laying the foundations of social security and adopting other measures calculated to safeguard and promote the interests of industrial labour. It calls upon the Provincial Governments to pursue with vigour, and complete within the shortest possible time, the programme of improving the lot of the agricultural labour already initiated by the Central Government through the Minimum Wages Act.

The Congress is aware of and fully sympathises with the difficulties and hardships of the workers due to various causes and yet appeals to them to take a realistic and responsible view of the critical situation through which the country is passing and not to be swayed by destructive ideologies leading to greater strife, chaos and discord. The Congress further warns the workers against the organised attempts to exploit the working classes for narrow political ends in utter disregard of the vital needs and basic interests of the country.

While appreciating the timely move of the Central Government to establish Industrial Truce, this Congress asks both capital and labour to work whole-heartedly on the maintenance of peace and good relations in industry. This Congress is of the opinion that uninterrupted and expanding production is a vital and indispensable pre-condition for relieving the

present hardship of the people and for raising the standard of living of the workers. Any slowing down or suspension of work for even a short period in industry or transport anywhere in the country would greatly hamper recovery, add to the already heavy burden of miseries of the people and prove exceedingly detrimental to the interests of the workers themselves.

The Congress fully admits that adequate incentives must be offered to the workers so that they can fully cooperate with the nation's drive for increased production. In this connection this Congress approves of the recommendations of the Economic Programme Committee of the A.I.C.C. on fixation of fair wages and fair profits and the scheme of profit-sharing for labour in industry and calls upon the Central and Provincial Governments to take effective and early steps to implement these recommendations.

GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND

Acharya J.B. Kripalani then moved the following resolution on "Gandhi National Memorial Fund" which was seconded by Shri Basantalal Murarka (Bengal). The resolution was passed unanimously.

This Congress endorses the appeal and approves of the action taken by the A.I.C.C. to raise a National Memorial to Mahatma Gandhi and to start a National Memorial Fund with the object of furthering the constructive, educational, social and cultural ideals and activities with which Mahatma Gandhi was so intimately connected during his life-time, and through the implementation of which he hoped to make India a just, healthy, self-reliant, united and democratic nation, as well as to further the cause of world peace and fellowship, and of collecting, preserving and publishing his writings and teachings in various languages.

ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

Prof. N.G. Ranga moved the resolution on "Economic Programme", which was seconded by Dr. P.C. Ghosh. The resolution was passed unanimously.

This Congress generally approves the report and recommendations of the Economic Programme Committee of the All India Congress Committee.

In view of the economic crisis through which the country is passing, it is the duty of the Government as also of the people to further the objectives that the Congress has laid down and in so spreading the burden of today that it may be shared by all and that none may escape it while others are crushed by it. The nation must undergo a period of austerity and must avoid all wasteful expenditure. Conscious and concerted effort must be

made on a national scale to meet this crisis in production and price inflation. All the nation's resources, human and material, should be utilised to increase production. While the people must produce more, they must consume less and invest their savings in Government Securities and undertakings. There must be economy all round. Government must ruthlessly cut down their expenditure consistently with the efficiency of administration and the safety of the state.

While it is essential to press forward large-scale projects in order to increase the food supply and the power resources of the nation so that the nation may be self-sufficient in regard to food and other essential commodities, small-scale projects should be particularly undertaken as they yield quicker results. This must be done in a 'planned manner. Attention must be specially directed to the rapid development of cottage and small-scale industries, preferably on a cooperative basis, which will provide employment to many and will immediately produce more consumers' goods. This plan of decentralised production should form part of the permanent economy of the country.

To assure the urban population, specially industrial workers, a regular supply of foodgrains at the controlled rate during this period of shortage, foodgrains should be procured from the cultivator at a price remunerative to the cultivator and fair to the consumer after leaving enough for the peasant and his family. Peasants should cooperate with the Governments in making the procurement of foodgrains a success. This Congress endorses the textile policy of the Government of India and calls upon the Provincial Governments to see that a fair quota of mill-cloth and other essential goods necessary for a minimum standard of living be made available at controlled rates, preferably through cooperatives, to the villagers. The services of the A.I.S.A. and A.I.V.I.A. should be enlisted to organise an intensive campaign throughout the country for production of Khadi and other commodities.

In order to put forth the utmost effort in production, it is essential that industrial and agrarian conflict should be avoided, for each such conflict means loss in production and a set-back to the nation. The Congress congratulates the Central Government on its efforts in the interest of industrial truce and social insurance and recommends early establishment, in all the Provinces, States and Unions, on a uniform basis, of statutory machinery for the resolution of industrial disputes in a just and peaceful manner, and also the establishment of machinery, Central, regional and functional, for the study and determination of fair wages and conditions of labour and fair remuneration of capital, and methods for the association of labour in all matters concerning industrial production such as formation of central, regional and unit production committees.

The Congress further appeals to all who were concerned in production to try their utmost to make every effort to this end. The proprietors of

industry should bring down their profits and help in raising production. Labour must realise that every strike and lock-out at this stage is a grave ill-service to the general community.

The Government of India have announced their Industrial Policy favouring a Mixed Economy and leaving a very large sector for development and expansion by private enterprise. The industrialists in this hour of crisis must do their duty by the nation. While it is the policy of the Congress to see that the industries are operated in the interest of the nation and the key industries are progressively brought under state control and ownership, it is not its intention to injure the legitimate interests of the industrialists.

The Central, Provincial, States and Union Governments are further requested to take steps to have adequate housing facilities provided for industrial labour. Locally available materials should be used to the largest possible extent in order to lessen cost and expedite construction.

The Congress is fully aware of the hardships due to the rising cost of living and the defective system of settlement of disputes and is anxious to find effective remedies for both. At the same time the Congress would like to place the working class on its guard against the disruptive forces which want to exploit the working class for the fulfilment of their political aims. There is no better and greater duty today for all those engaged in industry in whatever capacity than to keep the wheels of production constantly going.

STANDARDS OF PUBLIC CONDUCT

Shri Shankarrao Deo then moved the following resolution on "Standards of Public Conduct". It was seconded by Shri Jagat Narain Lal. Shri Rajendra Dube also spoke on the resolution. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The Congress, under Gandhiji's leadership, became not only a powerful instrument for gaining India's freedom, but also an organisation in intimate contact with the masses and attracting their goodwill and loyalty and exercising a moral authority over them. Gandhiji's conception of politics and public life was inextricably connected with high moral standards and sacrifice and service of the people irrespective of caste or creed. This conception influenced the Congress, which he shaped, and Congressmen came to be judged not by their wealth or status in society but by their public service and sacrifice and their individual conduct. Thus the Congress attained a supreme position in the life of the country and public standards rose to a high level. Because of this India not only achieved independence but also gained the respect and admiration of other nations.

It is this precious heritage that the present and succeeding generations have to preserve. If this hard-won freedom is to be maintained and utilised

for the creation of a new society based on social justice and equality of opportunity for all, it is essential that the Congress and Congressmen should keep intact these great ideals and should continue to serve the people without becoming victims to the lure of power, wealth or privilege.

Unfortunately, contact with power has affected many Congressmen and there is a tendency to use this power and position for self-interest. The spirit of disinterested service and of constructive work for the public cause gradually ceases to be the motive power which moves large numbers of people. It is essential, from the point of view of the individual as well as of the nation, that this tendency should be arrested and every Congressman and Congresswoman has a duty and obligation to work to this end.

Gandhiji combined political work with constructive and productive activity and placed a varied programme of constructive work before the country in which every Congressman, and indeed every Indian, was expected to take part. It was by this service that the Congress organisation grew in influence and the nation became strong. Political activity must necessarily be confined to a few, but national activity and service must be the privilege and obligation of every individual.

In order to renew and revitalise itself, the Congress must devote itself to renewing this service in some form of the constructive programme. Unity among the various communities in the country is the first essential, and the removal of all forms of untouchability and the like is equally important. Other important activities are: social education of the masses in towns and villages, and a countrywide campaign for increasing production in every way and, more especially, through the agency of cooperatives and village industries, including Khadi, association with the "Grow More Food" campaign, and organisation and service of workers in field and factory. It should be the special privilege of young men and young women to undertake these various activities in the service of the country.

Owing to the widespread reintroduction of controls, it is necessary that Congressmen should cooperate with others in making these controls a success and in checking corruption and breaches of the regulations.

The success of the Central and Provincial Governments, controlled by the Congress, depends to a large extent on full cooperation between the Governments and the Congress organisation. This cooperation should be evolved in each Province, subject to broad principles being laid down in regard to it by the Working Committee of the Congress or the Central Parliamentary Board. It is not possible or desirable for individual Congressmen to interfere in Government's activities. Complaints of Governmental activity or abuse of authority should be dealt with by the Provincial Congress Committee alone who should approach Government for redress. In particular, Congressmen must always beware of getting any special facilities, financial or other, for themselves or for their friends and relatives.

All Congressmen must set an example in all such matters and maintain a high standard of conduct.

In these days of world crises and national difficulty a burden is cast on the Congress which it must shoulder. Crises are not resolved or difficulties removed by patchwork remedies or opportunist methods. They are only finally resolved by removing the root causes of trouble and by maintaining always a high moral standard. The Congress therefore calls upon all Congressmen and the Nation generally to apply themselves to these great tasks in the spirit which enabled them to achieve freedom for this country.

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

The following resolution on "Linguistic Provinces" was moved from the Chair and passed unanimously.

The question of the formation of new Provinces on a unilingual basis and the redistribution of the existing Provinces for this purpose, wherever necessary, has engaged public attention for a considerable period. The Congress is aware of the strong desire for the formation of separate Provinces on linguistic basis and it has accepted the principle. In view, however, of the report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission appointed by the President of the Constituent Assembly and the new problems that have arisen out of the achievement of independence, this Congress appoints a committee of the following three members, namely,

1. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
2. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
3. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

to review the position and to examine the question in the light of the decisions taken by the Congress in the past and the requirements of the existing situation. The Committee will submit its report to the Working Committee within three months.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also addressed the gathering and the Session came to an end at 9 p.m. with the singing of "Jana Gana Mana".

Shri Hiralal Shastri, on behalf of the Reception Committee, made a short speech.

21. Report of the work done by the various Departments of the A.I.C.C. office during the Congress Session at Jaipur in December 1948

General Office. The A.I.C.C. office started working at Jaipur from 14th December and continued till 20th December 1948. Most of the members of the

staff went to Jaipur in connection with the Session of the Congress. The Accounts Department looked after the collection of membership fees from the A.I.C.C. members, issuing receipts and badges, while the General Office attended to recording of proceedings, printing and cyclostyling resolutions in English and Hindustani and answering queries.

Constructive Programme Department. The Open Session of the Congress concluded on 19th December 1948, and the next day, the Constructive workers assembled in the Pandal of the Sarvodaya Pradarshani in the early hours of the morning. Shri Shankarrao Deo presided over the meeting and Acharya Vinoba Bhave addressed the workers. In his speech he pointed out that a worker should not only settle in the village but should move in the adjoining villages also, that this should be regarded as his *parikrama* and that the leaders should not only be content with guiding the workers but should do some practical work themselves. This could maintain a link between the leaders and the workers. The practical demonstration of public service and effective devotion to public welfare would bring out the meaning of Sarvodaya Samaj in its true sense.

Shri Shankarrao Deo in his speech laid special emphasis on the fact that many Congressmen engaged themselves in Constructive Work only out of reverence for Gandhiji and most of them lacked living faith in it. Now that Gandhiji was gone, it was left to Congress workers to realise their own responsibilities in the matter and take upon themselves the task of implementing the Constructive Programme so clearly laid down by Gandhiji in the true interests of the people.

Foreign Department. The following visitors attended the Session as Fraternal Delegates from their respective countries:

Delegation from Malaya

Shardar Budh Singh (Leader)
Sadar Sadhu Singh
Dr. D.K. Majumdar
Shri Jangiram Yadav

Delegation from Nepal

Shri D.R. Regmi (Leader)
Shri M.B. Shah
Shri Ranganath Sharma
Shri Dinanath Sanpkota

Delegation from French India

Shri R.L. Purushottam Reddiar (Leader)
Shri K. Sivaprakasam
Shri S. Annamalai
Shri D. Munnuswamy
Shri Sachin Modak (Chandernagore)

Delegation from East Africa

Shri B.R. Kapila (Leader)

Shri Ved Puri

Shri J.R. Bhalla

Messages of greetings were read out in the Open Session by the leaders of all the delegations. Besides these, Dr. Anup Singh conveyed to the Congress the best wishes of Indians in the U.S.A.

Miss Muriel Lester from England and Mr. Bayard Rustin from the U.S.A. also came to Jaipur to attend the Congress Session. The Malayan and French Indian delegates met the President on the 17th afternoon in his camp and had a short discussion with him about the situation in Malaya and French India. The President gave a message to Chandernagore welcoming its decision to reunite with India.

Sardar Budh Singh, the leader of the Malayan Delegation, held a Press Conference on the evening of the 17th December in the A.I.C.C. office at Gandhinagar. He explained at length the condition of Indians in Malaya and pointed out the difficulties they were suffering from. On the 18th morning, the Malayan Delegation invited all the foreign delegates to tea in their camp. Miss Lester presided over this little function. There was quite an interesting discussion on the problems of Indians overseas and about the colour question in general.

The Malayan delegation also met Pandit Nehru in the Pandal and had a brief talk with him about Malayan Indians.

All the Delegations expressed their gratitude for the comfortable arrangements made for their lodging and boarding and for their attendance at the Congress Sessions, and in general for the courtesy shown to them during their stay in Gandhinagar.

Labour Department. A meeting of the Central Board of Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh was held at Jaipur on 15-12-48. Shri Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary, A.I.C.C., presided. Labour situation was discussed particularly in the context of present industrial unrest created by rival political parties. Members placed before the Board the difficulties experienced by them in their work in the labour field. The constitution of the Sangh was amended. The Central Board was reconstituted with Shri Shankarrao Deo and Shri Gulzarilal Nanda as Secretaries of the Sangh.

It was decided that a deputation consisting of Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shri Harihar Nath Shastri and Shri Khandubhai Desai should wait on the Working Committee to place before it the views of the Sangh. Accordingly, the deputation met the Working Committee on 18-12-48 and there was a frank discussion. At the end the deputation was asked to submit a memorandum on this aspect, which it promised to do.

Publication Department. Special arrangements were made mainly for organising the sales of the Congress publications at Jaipur. For this purpose, a

stall was set up near the entrance to the Subjects Committee Pandal and was kept open from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. from the 16th to 19th and from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. on the 20th of December 1948.

In spite of the various other attractions including the meetings of the Subjects Committee, the Open Session and the Exhibition, a large number of people visited the stall and purchased the publications. Books worth Rs.1,569/13/- were sold during the Session.

The experience of these days at Jaipur has strengthened the belief that with proper publicity and adequate organisation, the sales of publications of the Congress can easily be increased and interests created among Congressmen as well as the general public.

Seva Dal Department. The office of Seva Dal Department began to work at Jaipur on 9-12-48. It was kept open till 10 p.m. everyday during the Session.

The meeting of G.O.C.s and other Provincial Officers convened at Jaipur in connection with Congress Session started on 13-12-48 at 1 p.m. There were five sittings of this meeting which concluded formally on 15-12-48 at 10 a.m. when the General Secretaries, Shri Shankarrao Deo and Acharya Jugal Kishore, were also present. Out of 54 invitees, 47 attended the meeting representing 16 Congress Provinces. Only Bengal and Utkal did not send their officers to the meeting.

The Conference of Congress Seva Dal Volunteers was held on 18-12-48 at 8-30 p.m. Acharya Jugal Kishore presided over the meeting and Shri Jainarayan Vyas welcomed the visitors and delegates. Besides 389 delegates and nearly 1,000 visitors from all the Provinces of the Indian Union, a number of Secretaries and members of Provincial Volunteer Boards were present in the Conference.

In his speech Shri Shankarrao Deo emphasised that Seva Dal was to develop a cultural and educational movement side by side with organisational training. Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai and some Provincial Secretaries of Volunteer Boards addressed the Conference.

On 16-12-48, during the Flag Hoisting Ceremony, Seva Dal officers took charge of posting all volunteers in formation in the Jhanda Chowk and Shri Suleman Khan Pathan acted as Dhwaj Rakshak. From the evening of 17-12-48, the Pandal was under the management of Seva Dal volunteers, and they made all necessary arrangements for maintaining order and discipline so as to allow the proceedings to continue smoothly.

The Students/ Youth Department. In pursuance of the decision to widen the scope of the Students Department and to initiate work among the youth, an informal meeting of students and youth workers was convened at Jaipur on the 16th and 17th of December. 27 workers from 13 Provinces attended the meeting. The workers held two informal sittings in which they discussed the situation in the various Provinces and the immediate necessity for starting such work among the youth. On the 17th, the workers met Shri Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary, and placed before him the results of their discussions. Shri Shankarrao Deo addressed the workers and explained to them the object with which the meeting had been convened. He made a brief reference to the work done by the Students

Department and the Congress Seva Dal, and expressed his belief that there was something lacking in the uncoordinated working of the two Departments. He pointed out that though it was true that educated youth could be harnessed for taking the lead in service, the Congress which aspired to be a party of the masses could not afford to neglect working class youth. And that, to fulfil this need, it would be necessary to develop a strong and healthy youth movement in the country by bringing together the Seva Dal and the Students Departments, and by initiating a common and more comprehensive plan of work.

Shri Shankarrao Deo was very glad to observe the response that this proposal was receiving from youth workers and he promised to place the matter before the Working Committee. He also urged the workers to take up the programme outlined by the Department and start work without any further delay.

The workers welcomed the proposal of the Congress to start work among the youth and were happy to place their services at the disposal of the Congress. It was then suggested that the exact nature of the machinery might be decided after a careful study of the working of the Youth Departments of the political parties of other Asian, European and American countries. The workers requested Shri Ravindra Varma to prepare such a draft bearing their views in mind, and to place the draft before Shri Shankarrao Deo.

It was agreed that as far as possible the work should be financed locally.

22. *The new Congress Constitution (1945-48)*

After the Congress met at Ramgarh in 1940, it went into the wilderness as a result of its attitude towards the War and consequently no Congress session was held for 5 years. Many events had happened during this period which necessitated the reconsideration of the provisions of the Congress constitution, so as to enable the organisation to shoulder the heavy responsibilities thrust upon it as the instrument for the achievement of India's freedom. The A.I.C.C. which met at Bombay in September 1945 after the release of the members of the Working Committee from detention passed the following resolution appointing a Constitution Committee.

In view of the fact that the Congress has not been able to hold its annual session after the Ramgarh Session held in March 1940, and in view of the fact that events have happened during the past five years which require that the constitution of the Congress be considered in its entirety, it is resolved that a Committee consisting of the following persons¹ with power to co-opt two or more, be formed to consider the whole question and to make proposals for such amendments and additions to the Congress constitution as may appear necessary. In particular the Committee is authorised to consider the question as to how the Congress Committees should be related

to other independent organisations and to groups within the Congress Committees themselves. The Committee is also authorised to consult Provincial Congress Committees and such other persons or bodies as it may consider necessary.

The resolution also authorised certain temporary and transitory amendments to be made to the existing constitution to enable the conduct of new elections to the various Congress Committees under the extraordinary circumstances then obtaining.

The members of the Committee held consultations with Gandhiji and sought his views on the subject. After long discussions he put his thoughts in the form of a draft in Hindi and gave it to the Committee on 1st January 1946. The points he made therein were of material help to the Committee in coming to broad conclusions on the future shape of the Congress constitution. It produced a draft in due course but the Working Committee, busy as it was with important political negotiations with the British Government, did not get an opportunity of carefully studying it and making its detailed recommendations to the Congress Session. The annual session of the Congress which met at Meerut in November 1946 did not therefore adopt any new constitution. Instead it passed a resolution authorising the A.I.C.C. to amend and revise the constitution in view of the great political developments and the new conditions that had arisen. The A.I.C.C. subsequently increased the strength of the old Constitution Committee to fourteen with Shri R.R. Diwakar as convener.²

This Committee met several times and produced a draft which, it was expected, would be considered by the A.I.C.C. when it met in June 1947 in Delhi. The country was then on the eve of independence and partition had been decided upon. Conditions were fluid and uncertain. How the Congress would function in a free country and what shape its organisation would take in a divided India were not clear. In the circumstances it was widely felt that the time was not ripe to put through sweeping reforms in the organisation of the Congress. Gandhiji was of the opinion that under the disturbed conditions in the country it was neither wise nor expedient to put into operation an altogether new constitution.

The question of evolving a new constitution, creed and programme in the context of a free India came up before a meeting of Presidents and Secretaries of all P.C.C.s which took place in July 1947 at Delhi. A note entitled "The Future Role of the Congress" prepared by Shri Shankarrao Deo obtained the general approval of the meeting and was subsequently circularised to all P.C.C.s as well as to the public through the Press. It helped to canalise public opinion on the subject and to formulate definite ideas as to what role the Congress should play in a free India.

With the achievement of Indian independence on 15th August 1947, the object for which the Congress had been first organised and for which it had struggled and suffered for sixty-two long years was realised. But it now found itself in charge of the administration of the country both at the Centre and in the

Provinces. The possession of political power brought new responsibilities to the Congress which it was its duty to shoulder, for the Congress represented the people and enjoyed their confidence. There was another and a more fundamental reason, which called for the continued existence of the Congress. The history of the Congress, the resolutions it had passed, the pronouncements and activities of its leaders, notably Gandhiji's—had all pointed to a wider and deeper objective, viz., the political, social and economic emancipation of the poverty-stricken masses of India. While political freedom had come, social and economic freedom was yet to be a reality. The feeling was universal that the Congress had to achieve more by continuing to function on a wider plane and for a broader objective.

It was against this background that the A.I.C.C. met in Delhi in November 1947. When the question of the future Congress constitution came up before it, it decided that the changed situation necessitated further thought on the subject and appointed a fresh committee³ for revising the constitution keeping in view the new objective before the organisation. This committee sought the opinion of Congressmen and Congress Committees on the following points which required consideration in connection with the framing of a new constitution: (1) the new objective of the Congress; (2) continuance or discontinuance of four-anna membership; (3) whether the Congress should continue to function in Pakistan; (4) whether or not the Congress should extend its activities to the States; (5) qualifications for members of elective committees; (6) whether Congress elections should be annual or triennial.

A large number of suggestions were received in reply. The Constitution Committee considered all these suggestions and put up a final draft before the Working Committee in January 1948 at which Gandhiji was present. Gandhiji felt that the suggested changes would not meet the requirements of the new situation. It was therefore decided that the Constitution Committee should discuss their proposals with him directly in an attempt to come to agreed conclusions. This they did on the 28th January 1948 when Gandhiji explained his approach to the problem. He was thereupon requested to put his thoughts in writing, so that the Committee might have before them a clear and definite picture of his proposals. Accordingly Gandhiji handed over a draft of his suggestions on 30th January 1948, a few hours before his death.

Gandhiji's draft proposals, which have since become famous as his last will and testament to the Congress and the country, were so radical in their conception and scope that the Constitution Committee and the Working Committee found it difficult to accept them in toto. Gandhiji believed that the Congress as a parliamentary machine and as a vehicle of political propaganda had outlived its use after the attainment of independence. He therefore thought that the Congress should be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies, and advocated the disbanding of the existing Congress organisation. According to him, it should "flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh" and work for the social, moral and economic independence of the country in terms of its 700,000 villages as distinguished from its cities and towns.

These proposals meant a clean sweep of the past. Gandhiji's absence precluded any attempt at further clarification or modification of the proposals. Unable to contemplate the idea of dissolving an institution which was the only organised body which could run the administration of the country and tackle the manifold problems that political freedom brought in its wake, the Working Committee with great regret dissented from Gandhiji's basic approach and made their own recommendations regarding the fundamental principles that should govern the new constitution. It accepted as many suggestions of Gandhiji's as it could conveniently do and for the rest drew from the original proposals of the Constitution Committee.

The A.I.C.C. which met in February 1948 generally accepted these recommendations. A fresh draft prepared on the basis of these principles was placed before the A.I.C.C. at its meeting held in Bombay in April 1948 which passed it article by article with a few amendments. In December 1948 at the Jaipur Congress certain interpretative and explanatory amendments were also made.

The text of the new Congress Constitution as it stands today is given below:

OBJECT

Article I. The object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India by peaceful and legitimate means of a Cooperative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and or political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

CONSTITUENTS

Article II. The Indian National Congress will comprise:

- (a) Primary members under Article IV;
- (b) Primary Congress Panchayats in a village, in a group of villages, in a ward of a town, or in a part of a town;
- (c) District Congress Committees and such intermediate Committees as the P.C.C. may decide;
- (d) Provincial Congress Committees;
- (e) All-India Congress Committee;
- (f) Working Committee;
- (g) Annual Session of the Congress;
- (h) (i) Committees or associations organised or created or affiliated by the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee, and
(ii) Committees organised or created by any Provincial Congress Committees in accordance with the rules framed by it in that behalf and approved by the Working Committee.

TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

Article III. (a) The following shall be the Provinces with the headquarters mentioned against them:

<i>Province</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
1. Ajmer-Merwara	Ajmer
2. Andhra	Bezwada
3. Assam	Gauhati
4. Bihar	Patna
5. West Bengal	Calcutta
6. Bombay (City)	Bombay
7. Delhi	Delhi
8. Gujarat	Ahmedabad
9. Karnataka	Hubli
10. Kerala	Calicut
11. Mahakoshal	Jubbulpore
12. Maharashtra	Poona
13. Nagpur	Nagpur
14. East Punjab	..
15. Tamil Nadu	Madras
16. United Provinces	Lucknow
17. Utkal	Cuttack
18. Vidarbha (Berar)	Akola
19. Rajputana	..
20. Madhya Bharat	..
21. Vindhya Pradesh	..
22. Himachal Pradesh	..
23. Patiala and East Punjab States Union	..

(b) A Provincial Congress Committee with the previous sanction of the Working Committee shall have the power to change its headquarters.

(c) The Working Committee may, after ascertaining the wishes of the Provincial Congress Committee or Committees concerned, constitute a new Province, or assign to a new Province a district or a portion or portions of a district from another Province, as also assign any acceding State or States, or part or parts thereof, to any Province or, if necessary, constitute such a State or States into a Province.

(d) The Working Committee shall have power to give representation to such areas in India or outside as have not been included in the jurisdiction of any P.C.C. or direct that such an area or areas be included in a neighbouring Province.

MEMBERSHIP

Article IV. (a) *Primary Membership.* Any person of the age of 21 years and over who believes in Article I, shall, on making a written declaration to that effect on Form (A), be deemed to be a primary member of the Congress. He shall be entitled to be placed on the list of primary members which shall be kept at the office of the Primary Congress Panchayat, in whose jurisdiction he ordinarily resides or carries on business, provided that no person shall be a primary member at two places simultaneously.

(b) On declaration on Form (A) the person declaring shall receive an acknowledgement which shall be conclusive proof of his having become a primary member of the Congress.

(c) *Qualified Membership.* A primary member shall be deemed to be a qualified member eligible for election to a Primary Congress Panchayat if he fulfils the following conditions:

He shall be a habitual wearer of certified khadi⁴—certified through the agencies appointed by the Working Committee—made from hand-spun yarn, and a teetotaller. He does not observe or recognise untouchability in any shape or form. He must be a believer in intercommunal unity and have respect for the faiths of other people. He must also believe in equality of opportunity and status for all irrespective of race, creed or sex:

Provided that he is not a member of any political party, communal or other, which has a separate membership, constitution and programme and that he registers himself as such by a written application to the D.C.C. in Form (B) along with a fee of Re.1 by a date fixed by the Working Committee and provided he has been a primary member for at least two years consecutively.

(d) The D.C.C. shall duly enter the applicant's name in the register of qualified members and issue a card to the applicant as per Form (C).

(e) Every qualified member shall annually pay a fee of Re. 1 to the respective D.C.C. provided that the fee he has paid with the application shall be credited as his fee for the first year.

(f) *Effective Membership.* A qualified member shall be deemed to be an effective member provided he devotes regularly a part of his time to some form of national or constructive activity as laid down from time to time by the Congress, and signs a declaration to that effect, as per Form (D), and files it with the respective D.C.C. by a date fixed by the Working Committee, provided his name has been on the list of qualified members for at least one year.

(g) The D.C.C. shall, on receipt of the application of a qualified member to be enrolled as an effective member, forward the same to the P.C.C. and the P.C.C. shall duly enter the applicant's name in the register of effective members and issue a card to the applicant as per Form (E).

(h) The Working Committee shall issue prescribed forms referred to in the constitution.

TERM OF CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Article V. The term of every Primary Congress Panchayat and Congress Committee shall ordinarily be three years.

REGISTER OF MEMBERS

Article VI. (a) Every Primary Congress Panchayat shall maintain a list of its primary members.

(b) Every D.C.C. shall maintain a register of qualified members and members of Panchayat within its jurisdiction and shall send a certified list of the same to its P.C.C.

(c) Every P.C.C. shall maintain a register of effective members within its jurisdiction and shall supply a certified list of the same to the D.C.C.s concerned.

(d) The registers mentioned in clauses (b) and (c) shall state the full name, address, age, occupation, residence, and date of enrolment of each member.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTERS AND CANDIDATES

Article VII. A. *Voters.* (a) Every primary member of the Congress who has enrolled himself as such within the prescribed period and whose name appears on the list of primary members shall be entitled to vote at the election of the Primary Congress Panchayat of his constituency.

(b) All members of the Panchayats and effective members shall be entitled to vote at the elections of delegates and, subject to provisions made in this behalf by respective Provincial Congress Committees; to all other Congress Committees subordinate to P.C.C.s.

B. *Candidates.* (a) A qualified member shall be eligible for election to a Primary Congress Panchayat.

(b) An effective member shall be eligible for election to any Congress Committee.

Article VIII. (a) A Primary Congress Panchayat shall consist of qualified members elected by the primary members of a village, group of villages, a municipal ward, or part of a ward, a town or part of a town in a general meeting of the members called for the purpose on a date prescribed by the respective P.C.C.

(b) The jurisdiction of any Primary Congress Panchayat shall not ordinarily extend beyond an area comprising a population of 2,500 adult voters on the list of government electoral rolls.

(c) No Primary Congress Panchayat shall consist of less than three or more than ten members, provided that there is not more than one member for every

250 adults.

(d) No primary Congress Panchayat shall be formed in an area unless 8 per cent of the adult voters on the government electoral rolls have enrolled themselves as primary members.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES

Article IX. (a) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall prepare and send to the A.I.C.C. office a statement containing a list of effective members and members of the Panchayats on or before a date fixed by the Working Committee. This statement will be in the form prescribed by the A.I.C.C. office.

(b) In the event of a Provincial Congress Committee failing to furnish a statement in time, the Working Committee may take such steps as it may deem necessary.

(c) The Working Committee shall fix the date by which the election of delegates must be held.

(d) Provincial Congress Committees shall divide the Province into single-member territorial constituencies which shall not be disturbed without the permission of the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee. Such constituencies shall consist only of contiguous areas.

(e) Every Province shall be entitled to return delegates to the Congress in the proportion of one for every lakh of population, provided that there are not less than five Panchayats in the constituency.

(f) The members of the A.I.C.C. co-opted from affiliated associations and the ex-Presidents of each P.C.C. resident in the Province, who have served one full term,⁵ shall be declared to be delegates provided they are otherwise qualified under the constitution.

(g) Bombay City shall have a maximum of 40 delegates and the Province of Delhi a maximum of 30 delegates.

(h) Every delegate shall, on payment of a fee of Rs.10 at the office of the P.C.C. of his Province, receive a certificate duly signed by one of its Secretaries. No delegate who has not paid his fee shall be entitled to exercise any of his functions. The P.C.C. shall intimate to the A.I.C.C. office just after the delegates are elected. The delegates shall receive acknowledgement from the A.I.C.C. office.

(i) The Province which has not completed the election of delegates on or before the date appointed by the Working Committee, may at the discretion of the Working Committee be disentitled to be represented at the Congress Session.

(j) A certified list of delegates shall be submitted by the P.C.C. to the A.I.C.C. not later than the date fixed by the Working Committee in that behalf.

(k) The delegates shall be elected for a term of three years.

A.I.C.C. ELECTIONS

Article X. (a) The delegates in every Province shall assemble in a meeting to

elect from among themselves one-eighth of their number as representatives of the Province on the A.I.C.C., provided that no Province shall have less than 5 representatives on the A.I.C.C.

(b) The election, mentioned in clause (a), shall be by proportional representation by single transferable vote.

(c) The Secretaries of the respective P.C.C.s shall issue certificates of membership of the A.I.C.C. to the persons elected to it.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Article XI. (a) The Provincial Congress Committee in each Province shall consist of the delegates from the Province and those mentioned in clause (b) of this Article, provided they pay Rs.5 annually to the respective P.C.C.s.

(b) The Presidents and ex-Presidents of the Congress, the ex-Presidents of the P.C.C. as referred to in Article IX; Clause (f), and any other person or persons within the jurisdiction of the P.C.C. who have been co-opted by the A.I.C.C. for any reason shall also be members of the P.C.C. and delegates to the Congress provided that they are duly qualified under Article IV.

(c) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall

- (i) ordinarily function through district and taluka or tehsil Congress Committees formed in respective administrative divisions of the area provided that such committees shall include, as ex-officio members, those who have been elected to the P.C.C. from that area;
- (ii) subject to the general supervision and control of the A.I.C.C., be in charge of the affairs of the Congress Committee within its own Province and to that end frame its provincial constitution not inconsistent with this constitution, which shall come into operation only with the previous sanction of the Working Committee;
- (iii) submit to the Working Committee an annual report of the work done in the Province by the provincial Congress organisation including an audited balance sheet;
- (iv) before the new A.I.C.C. meets the P.C.C. shall pay the Working Committee the delegates' fees and subscriptions fixed by the A.I.C.C. from time to time. Delegates and members of the A.I.C.C. from Provinces in default shall not be permitted to take part in any of the proceedings of the Congress or any Committee thereof.

(d) (i) No Provincial Congress Committee shall be recognised by the Working Committee unless it has complied with the conditions laid down by the Working Committee.

(ii) On failure of any Provincial Congress Committee to function in terms of the constitution, the Working Committee may suspend the existing P.C.C. and form an ad hoc committee to carry on Congress work in the Province.

frame resolutions for being moved in the Open Session. At least one day shall be allotted by the Subjects Committee for the consideration of proposition of which due notice has been given by the Provincial Congress Committees or members of the A.I.C.C.

CONGRESS SESSION

Article XIV. (a) The session of the Congress shall be ordinarily held annually at the time and place decided upon by the A.I.C.C.

(b) The Congress Session shall consist of:

- (i) The President of the Congress;
- (ii) The ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are duly qualified under Article IV;
- (iii) The delegates elected under Article IX and the representatives under Clause (h), Article XII.

(c) (i) The Congress Session shall consider resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee in the first instance.

(ii) Thereafter the Session shall take up any substantive motion not included in (i) but which 40 delegates have, before the commencement of the day's sitting, requested the President in writing to allow them to place before the Congress, provided however that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee, and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present in the Subjects Committee.

(d) The Provincial Congress Committee, in whose jurisdiction the Congress Session is held, shall make such arrangements for holding the Congress Session as may be deemed necessary, and for this purpose shall form a Reception Committee which shall work under its general guidance and which may include therein persons who are not its members.

(e) The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

(f) The Reception Committee shall collect funds for the expenses of the Session, shall make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates, and may also make necessary arrangements for visitors.

(g) The receipts and disbursements of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with auditor's report shall be submitted by the Provincial Congress Committee to the Working Committee not later than three months after the termination of the Congress Session. Any surplus funds remaining with the Reception Committee shall be divided equally between the A.I.C.C. and the P.C.C.

SPECIAL SESSION

Article XV. (a) A special session of the Congress shall be held in case the A.I.C.C. so decides or a majority of the P.C.C.s, by special resolutions, request the President of the Congress to convene such a special session.

(b) Such a special session shall be organised in the same manner as a Congress Session by the P.C.C. of the Province selected when it is so directed by the Congress Working Committee.

(c) The President and delegates of the immediately preceding Congress Session shall be the President and delegates respectively of the special session.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

Article XVI. (a) Any ten delegates may jointly send the name of any delegate or ex-President of the Congress duly qualified under Article XI whom they propose to be elected as President of the next Congress Session, so as to reach the General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. on or before a date fixed by the Working Committee.

(b) The General Secretary shall publish the names of all persons so proposed, and it shall be open to any person whose name has been so proposed to withdraw his candidature within ten days of the publication of the proposed name, by writing to the General Secretary to that effect.

(c) After eliminating the names of those who have withdrawn, the General Secretary shall immediately publish the names of the remaining candidates and circulate them to the Provincial Congress Committees. If after elimination there remains only one candidate he shall be declared duly elected as President of the next Congress Session.

(d) On a date fixed by the Working Committee, which shall not ordinarily be less than seven days after the final publication of the names of contesting candidates, each delegate shall be entitled to record, for the selection of a President, his vote in the following manner:

On the voting paper, which shall include the names of all candidates, the delegates shall show at least three preferences if there are three or more candidates, by writing the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., against the names of the candidates voted for. Delegates may give more than three preferences if they wish to do so. Any voting paper showing less than 3 preferences will be regarded as invalid.

(e) The Provincial Congress Committee shall report immediately to the A.I.C.C. office the number and class of preference recorded in favour of each candidate.

(f) As soon as may be after the receipt of such reports the General Secretary shall, by the process of eliminating those candidates who secure the smallest

number of votes, announce as President-elect the name of the candidate who has secured more than 50 per cent of the votes polled.

(g) In case there are only two candidates, the General Secretaries shall announce as President-elect the name of the candidate obtaining the majority of votes.

(h) In the event of any emergency arising by reason of any cause such as death or resignation of the President elected as above, the General Secretary shall forthwith fix a date for a fresh election by the delegates as prescribed above. In case such procedure is not found possible, the A.I.C.C. shall elect the President.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Article XVII. (a) The Working Committee shall consist of the President of the Congress Session, a Treasurer and eighteen members including one or more Secretaries. All the members of the Working Committee shall be appointed by the President ordinarily from amongst the members of the A.I.C.C., provided however that a delegate so appointed shall cease to be a member of the Working Committee if he is not elected as a member of the A.I.C.C. within the next 6 months. The proportion of members on the Working Committee holding ministerial office shall not exceed one-third of the total membership of the Committee.

(b) The Working Committee shall be the highest executive authority of the Congress and as such shall have the power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the Congress and by the A.I.C.C. and shall be responsible to the A.I.C.C.

(c) The Working Committee shall place before every meeting of the A.I.C.C. the reports of its proceedings and the agenda of the meeting and shall allot time for non-official resolutions of which due notice may have been given by the members of the A.I.C.C. in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(d) The Working Committee shall appoint one or more auditors and inspectors to examine the records, papers and account books of all Congress Committees and organisations, which shall furnish all information and give to the auditors and inspectors access to all offices, accounts and records.

(e) The Working Committee shall have the power

- (i) to frame rules which will be placed before the next meeting of the A.I.C.C. for its final approval and to issue instructions as may be necessary, not inconsistent with the constitution and the rules for the proper working of the constitution and in all matters not otherwise provided for;
- (ii) to superintend, direct and control all Congress Committees except the A.I.C.C.;
- (iii) to take such disciplinary action as it may deem fit against a Committee or individual for misconduct, wilful neglect or default in the discharge of duty.

(f) The Working Committee shall pay to the P.C.C. holding the Congress Session one-fifth of fees recovered from the delegates, within a fortnight of the termination of the Session.

(g) The Working Committee shall make arrangements to have the annual audit of the accounts of the A.I.C.C. by an auditor appointed by the A.I.C.C. every year.

FUNDS

Article XVIII. The Treasurer shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of all investments, income and expenditure.

GENERAL SECRETARIES

Article XIX. (a) The General Secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the A.I.C.C.

(b) The General Secretaries shall be responsible for the preparation of the report of the proceedings of the Congress session along with the audited accounts of the Session. Such report shall be published as soon as possible.

(c) The General Secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the A.I.C.C. and the Working Committee and submit the same with the audited statement of accounts of the funds administered to the meeting of the A.I.C.C.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Article XX. (a) The first general meeting of the P.C.C. shall, by a majority of at least three-fourths of its members present and voting, appoint a Credentials Committee of not less than three and of not more than five members who shall not be candidates for any of the Congress elections during the term of their membership of this Committee.

(b) Every Credentials Committee shall hold office till it is replaced by a similar committee appointed by the next P.C.C.

(c) In case the P.C.C. fails to appoint such a committee by a date specified by the Working Committee, the latter shall appoint such a committee.

(d) The Credentials Committee shall in its first meeting elect a Chairman and frame rules of procedure for the conduct of its business and shall file a copy of the same with the P.C.C., provided that such rules of procedure shall not be inconsistent with the constitution and with rules made thereunder by the Working Committee.

(e) Each D.C.C. shall elect a panel of three members in its general meeting, by a majority of at least three-fourths of the members present and voting, and submit the same to the Provincial Credentials Committee which shall appoint a District Credentials Committee of not more than three for each district. No member of the District Credentials Committee shall be a candidate for election to any

committee during the term of his membership of the Credentials Committee. (f) The Provincial and District Credentials Committees may examine applications for effective and qualified membership of the Congress respectively, hear objections if any and decide them.

TRIBUNALS

Article XXI. (a) The P.C.C. in its first general meeting shall, by a majority of at least three-fourths of its members present and voting, appoint an Election Tribunal, of not less than three and not more than five, no member of which shall stand as a candidate for any Congress election during the term of his office. Each D.C.C. shall elect a panel of three members in its general meeting by a majority of at least three-fourths of the members present and voting and submit the same to the Provincial Tribunal which shall appoint a District Election Tribunal for each district of one or more members out of the panel submitted by the respective D.C.C.s, to receive and decide disputes relating to the election of office-bearers and members of elective committees, provided that no person so appointed shall stand as a candidate for any Congress election during his term of office. In case the D.C.C. fails to send the aforesaid panel within the time prescribed by the P.C.C. the Provincial Election Tribunal shall appoint a District Election Tribunal of not more than three for each district.

(b) Every Provincial and District Election Tribunal shall hold office ordinarily for three years or till a new tribunal is appointed by the next P.C.C.

(c) If any P.C.C. fails to appoint the Provincial Election Tribunal by a date specified by the Working Committee the latter shall appoint one.

(d) The Provincial Election Tribunal shall in its first meeting elect its Chairman and frame rules of procedure for the conduct of its business as well as that of the District Election Tribunals and shall file a copy of the same with the P.C.C., provided that such rules of procedure shall not be inconsistent with any rules made by the Working Committee.

(e) It shall be open to the P.C.C. to elect the same personnel wholly or in part as members of the Credentials Committee or Election Tribunal. Any vacancy in either the Credentials Committee or the Election Tribunal are to be filled by the remaining members of that body.

OBJECTIONS

Article XXII. (a) Any person whose name is omitted or incorrectly entered in the register of qualified or effective members or who objects to the entry of any name therein may submit an objection in writing stating the reasons against such entry or omission to the person or persons authorised therefor by the District Credentials Committee or before a date to be fixed by the Executive of the P.C.C.

(b) After hearing the objector and any other party concerned, the District Credentials Committee may direct the name to be entered into, altered or omitted from the electoral roll.

(c) The District Credentials Committee shall maintain a brief record of proceedings before it, and a copy of its order directing any amendment shall be forwarded to the Congress Committee concerned which shall take necessary action and any person aggrieved by the order of the District Credentials Committee may appeal to the Provincial Credentials Committee within 15 days of the passing of the order.

ELECTION DISPUTES

Article XXIII. (a) It will be open to any voter within a constituency to lodge a complaint in accordance with rules framed in that behalf in respect of an election with that constituency before the District Election Tribunal within seven days of the declaration of the result of such election and the District Election Tribunal shall decide the complaint and communicate the decision to the parties concerned without delay.

(b) Until the election is set aside by the District Tribunal the person elected shall be deemed to have been duly elected.

(c) An appeal shall lie to the Provincial Election Tribunal within fifteen days of such order by the party. The order of the Provincial Election Tribunal shall be final.

(d) The Working Committee may lay down rules for the conduct of elections and lodging and disposal of objections and complaints and appeals.

(e) The Provincial Election Tribunal shall on its own motion or on report by a District Tribunal or on the motion of the P.C.C. or on the motion of a party concerned have the power to direct that any person found guilty of misconduct in connection with any election, maintenance of register and rolls of member, lodging of a false complaint or objection knowing it to be so, shall be disqualified from standing as a candidate for election or be expelled from the Congress for such a period as it may consider just and proper. An appeal shall lie to the Working Committee from any order passed by the Provincial Election Tribunal under this clause..

VACANCIES

Article XXIV. The office of a delegate or a member of the A.I.C.C. or of a P.C.C. shall be deemed to have been vacated by resignation, death or by six months' continuous absence from India without special permission from the Congress Committee concerned or if he absents himself from three consecutive meetings of the Committee of which he is a member and the vacancies thus created shall be filled in the same manner in which the vacating member was chosen. A vacancy on the Working Committee shall be filled by the President.

CENSUS AND FRACTIONS

Article XXV. (a) Population figures of the last available census and the latest adult voters' list shall be the basis for all Congress purposes.

(b) Where there is a question of the value of fractions, a fraction of one-half or more shall be treated as one, and less than one-half as zero.

FLAG

Article XXVI. The Flag of the Indian National Congress shall be of tricolour (saffron, white and green) with charkha in the centre and it shall be made out of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

Article XXVII. (a) The Working Committee shall set up a Parliamentary Board consisting of the President and five other members, with the Congress President as its Chairman, for the purpose of regulating and co-ordinating parliamentary activities of the Congress Legislature Parties and shall frame rules in that behalf.

(b) A Central Election Committee shall be set up consisting of members of the Parliamentary Board and five other members elected by the A.I.C.C. for the purpose of (1) conducting election campaigns and (2) making final selection of candidates for the Provincial and Central Legislatures.

(c) Provincial Election Committees shall be elected by the general meeting of the respective P.C.C.s. They shall recommend candidates for Central and Provincial Legislatures. The final selection, after hearing objections and appeals, shall be made by the Central Election Committee.

CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION

Article XXVIII. The foregoing constitution can be amended, altered, or added to only by the Congress except when the A.I.C.C. has been authorised to do so. In case such authority has been given by the Congress, then the constitution can be amended only by a majority of two-thirds of members present and voting at a meeting of the A.I.C.C., provided notice of such proposed changes has been given to each member at least one month before the date of the meeting.

¹ Rajendra Prasad, Narendra Deva, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, R.R. Diwakar and J.B. Kripalani.

² Rajendra Prasad, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Narendra Deva, R.R. Diwakar, Jayaprakash Narayan, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyay, P.D. Tandon, Mridula Sarabhai, B.V. Keskar, Shrinivās Mallya, S.K. Patil, Jairamdas Doulatram, Shankarrao Deo, and Jugal Kishore.

³ Pattabhi Sitaramayya, P.D. Tandon, Narendra Deva, R.R. Diwakar, S.K. Patil, Surendra Mohan Ghose, and Jugal Kishore (Convener).

⁴ In its meeting held on the 9th and 10th January 1919, the Congress Working Committee approved

the following interpretation of Certified Khadi: "Certified Khadi" means Khadi certified by the P.C.C., Provincial Government, All-India Spinners' Association or such other bodies authorised by the Working Committee in this behalf. The Working Committee authorises the Khadi Samiti in Bihar and the Gandhi Ashram in U.P. to certify Khadi under this clause of the Congress constitution.

¹ Full term signifies the interval between two annual provincial elections or 365 days, whichever is less.

FORM (A)—PRIMARY MEMBERSHIP

Article IV (a)

Article 1. The object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a Cooperative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights, and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

I accept the objective of the Congress as given in Article 1 of the Congress Constitution, as stated above.

My age is 21 years or over.

Serial No.	Name	Father's name	Residence	Signature or thumb impression
.....

FORM (B)—QUALIFIED MEMBERSHIP

Article IV (c)

No.

Date

I accept the following objective of the Congress:

The object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a Cooperative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights, and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

I am a habitual wearer of Khadi made from hand-spun yarn and a teetotaller. I do not observe or recognise untouchability in any shape or form. I am a believer

in intercommunal unity and have respect for the faiths of other people. I also believe in equality of opportunity and status for all irrespective of race, creed or sex.

I do not belong to any political party, communal or other, which has a separate membership, constitution and programme.

I have paid Re.1 as the membership fee.

Full name
 Father's or Husband's name
 Age
 Place of residence
 Village
 Taluka, Thana or Ward
 District
 Province

Signature of the applicant

Note of the Secretary, Congress Committee

The above application has been received in the office along with Re.1 only, as membership fee. It is duly admitted, and the certificate of membership of the Form (C), No dated is issued to the applicant.

Date

Signature of the Secretary

FORM (C)—CERTIFICATE OF QUALIFIED MEMBERSHIP

Article IV (d)

No.

Date

Certified that Shri has signed the pledge and has paid Re. one, his membership fee, and is duly enrolled today (give date) as a qualified member of Indian National Congress and bears Register No in the Congress Committee in Taluka in the District of Province.

Signature of the Secretary
 District/ City Congress Committee

FORM (D)—EFFECTIVE MEMBERSHIP

Article IV (g)

No.

Date

I accept the following objective of the Congress:

The object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a Cooperative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights, and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

I am a habitual wearer of certified Khadi made from hand-spun yarn and a teetotaller. I do not observe or recognise untouchability in any shape or form. I am a believer in intercommunal unity and have respect for the faiths of other people. I also believe in equality of opportunity and status for all irrespective of race, creed or sex.

I devote regularly a part of my time to activity or activities indicated in the following list by my initials:

1. Communal unity
2. Removal of untouchability
3. Prohibition
4. Khadi
5. Other village industries
6. Village sanitation
7. New or Basic education
8. Adult education
9. Education in health and hygiene
10. Uplift of women
11. Propaganda of Rashtra Bhasha and provincial languages
12. Working for economic equality
13. Organisation of kisans
14. Organisation of labour
15. Organisation of students.
16. Service of Adivasis
17. Relief work
18. Parliamentary work
19. Congress organisation

or any other activity recommended by the Working Committee or the A.I.C.C.
I am not a member of any other political party, communal or other, which has

a separate membership, constitution and programme.

FORM (E)—CERTIFICATE OF EFFECTIVE MEMBERSHIP

Article IV (g)

No.

Date

Certified that Shri is duly enrolled as an effective member of the Indian National Congress and bears Register No. in the Congress Committee in Taluka in the District of Province.

Secretary
..... Provincial Congress Committee

It might be noted that in many respects this constitution is a departure from past practices. Some of its most distinguishing features are:

1. The creed is no longer merely political. It is now the establishment of a Cooperative Commonwealth in India where equal opportunities would be given to all, irrespective of caste, creed or sex. The Congress has also extended its hand to sister nations in the endeavour to establish a world-federation of free and equal nations.
2. A three-tier membership—primary, qualified and effective.
3. No fee to be paid by primary members. They have only to sign the Congress pledge accepting its creed.
4. The Congress organisation is to be maintained with the help of actual workers in the political and other fields. An effective member is one who gives some time and energy in working out one or the other of the many items of constructive national work.
5. Members of other political parties with a separate membership, constitution and policy cannot stand for Congress elections.
6. The primary members would take part only in the elections to the Village Congress Panchayat. All other elections would be indirect.
7. Triennial elections to all Congress Committees instead of the former annual elections. The Congress session would however continue to be held every year.

These might be said to be the most important aspects of the new constitution. The reasons for these changes are obvious. After the attainment of full freedom there was no meaning in retaining the old political creed. It was equally necessary, now that we were a full-fledged nation, to indicate our attitude towards other nations. In view of the amount of work which has to be done among the people, it

is necessary that this vast organisation should have the advantage of the services of persons who are known for their concrete work and experience. It was thought necessary that after election of office-bearers there should at least be a period of three years during which work may be carried on without interruption or change of policies.

As regards the abolition of the four-anna fee, there were several complaints that the four-anna membership lent itself to much corruption. It has therefore been given up. Along with the abolition of four-anna membership, the rights of the Primary Members are restricted to only one direct election, viz., that of Village Congress Panchayats. Finally, it was found from experience that when the Congress was in power and was responsible for day-to-day administration it was impractical to have within the Congress a party which had a different policy, programme, constitution, membership and fees. It created confusion in the minds of the people when workers from a single organisation went on propagating two opposite points of view. The Socialists have seceded from the Congress as a result.

The new constitution is thus framed with a view to strengthen the Congress, purify it, and make it a fitting instrument for the regeneration of this vast country.

23. English translation of the Hindi draft that Gandhiji gave to the Constitution Committee

1. Constructive programme is the chief plank for winning Swaraj by truthful and non-violent means. Its full execution means complete independence. But so long as the millions of India do not take to it, parliamentary programme will remain as a supplement.

2. The method of enrolment of Congress membership has been useful and Congress has been able to do a lot of good work. But many defects have crept in. Therefore, in future the Congress will consist of workers or servants of the nation only. Any man or woman above the age of sixteen can become a Congress worker, provided he or she is a habitual wearer of khadi certified by the A.I.S.A. and pays a monthly fee of 1,920 rounds of hand-spun yarn to the Congress. The spinners should be conversant with all the processes from picking cotton pods from the field to the point of making slivers and producing yarn. They should also know how to put a spinning wheel in order.

3. The Congress shall make it a point of duty to penetrate the 700,000 villages of India. At least one Congress worker shall stay in each village and do the following:

(a) He shall come in personal contact with every villager and keep a list of their names along with those of the other members of their families.

- (b) He will enrol and train Congress workers from amongst the villagers themselves and keep a register of all those who come on the roll. These shall form the Village Congress Committee.
- (c) He shall keep a record of his work from day to day.
- (d) It is possible that obstacles might be placed in his way by the Government or by the villagers themselves. He shall fight all difficulties by truthful and non-violent action even though he might perish in the attempt.
- (e) He shall organise the villagers so as to make them self-contained and self-supporting through their agriculture and handicrafts, treating the manufacture of khadi as the centre, in accordance with the lines laid down by the A.I.S.A., A.I.V.I.A., and the Go Seva Sangh.
- (f) He shall organise sanitation and hygiene among the villagers and take all measures for prevention of disease among them.
- (g) He shall organise the education of the villagers from birth to death along the lines of Nayee Talim, in accordance with the policy laid down by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.
- (h) For the above purposes and others to be added from time to time by the Congress, he shall train and fit himself for the due performance of duty, in accordance with the rules laid down by the Congress from time to time.

4. The Congress shall take part in the elections in all Government-managed or controlled institutions, beginning with the village panchayat to the Central Legislative Assembly and Council.

5. The Congress shall contact all those who are on the Government's voters' list, and

- (a) will give them an idea of their duties and their rights,
- (b) shall produce the necessary literature for their education,
- (c) shall make arrangements to impart literacy to the illiterate amongst them,
- (d) shall see that those whose names are missing on the Government registers are duly entered therein,
- (e) shall carry on agitation for adult franchise for all inhabitants of India who acquire the necessary qualifications for getting the right, and
- (f) shall carry on agitation for adult franchise for all inhabitants of India who are not proved lunatics or otherwise unfit workers.

6. Out of the existing workers the Congress shall maintain a Central Board of Volunteers whose sole and special duty will be to reach help and protect, in accordance with Truth and Non-violence, the people in cases of rioting, stealing, robbery and like emergencies. To this end the Congress shall conduct a teaching institution.

7. The Congress shall run a Language School so as to enable Congressmen and women to learn the national language (i.e., Hindustani spoken by the

villagers—Hindus, Muslims and others in the villages of the North—and written in the Nagari or Urdu script) and other Indian languages. This work is to be done along the lines of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha.

8. Representative Village Congress Sabhas being one per not less than 1,000 voters and of workers being one per 1,000 workers shall form the A.I.C.C.

9. The Indian National Congress will comprise:

1. Village Congress Committee
2. All India Congress Committee
3. Working Committee of the Congress
4. All-India Spinners' Association
5. All-India Village Industries Association
6. Hindustani Talimi Sangh
7. Institution for Removal of Untouchability
8. Anti-Intoxicant Association
9. Labour Union
10. Kisan Union.

10. The A.I.C.C. shall frame rules for the smooth working of the constitution and for matters left unprovided for herein.

Note: The draft was given by Gandhiji in January 1946.

24. *A note from the Secretary, Purbachal Organisation Committee, addressed to Dr. Rajendra Prasad*

CONFIDENTIAL

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CREATION OF PURBACHAL PROVINCE FROM INDIA'S DEFENCE POINT OF VIEW

The question of carving out a separate Province in the north-eastern frontier of India under the name of Purbachal has already engaged the attention of the Congress High Command and the Government of India. It is quite likely that various interested parties will try to advance arguments for and against this move. Government of India will have to consider if there is any objective justification for this demand and whether the larger interest of the nation lends any support for it.

From a glance at the map of the region comprising Manipur, Cachar, Assam portions of Sylhet, Lushai Hills and Tripura State, it will appear that *this insular territory of about 25,000 sq. miles is pressed between Burma on the east and*

Eastern Pakistan on the west. The southern boundary is also shared between these two states and on the north there is a long range of hills separating this zone from the rest of Assam. These hills are difficult to negotiate except through the hills section of the Assam Railway, which is again a very unreliable and vulnerable means of communications, failing for 3/4 months every year in the normal course of the monsoon. Even when the Railway system functions it takes about 24 hours to reach the headquarters station of Cachar from Gauhati because of the stiff grade of the railway line.

With such winding, dilatory and uncertain system of communication with the rest of India, this frontier territory can ill afford to depend on the supply of civil and military requirements therefrom in times of any emergency. If the railway system through the hills with innumerable difficult bridges and tunnels is snapped, this zone will be starved into capitulation by any hostile power.

This rugged terrain on the south of Assam stands like a sentinel for the safety of the Province. If this frontier guard is liquidated, the safety and security of Assam will really be in danger.

The surging wave of communism is rolling through the entire South-East Asia and has already dashed against the gates of India through Burma. It has splashed Manipur as will be evident from the results of the election held there recently and is likely to filter down to the Lushai Hills from the latest contacts that are being established between Burma and Lushai Hills leaders. Communism fights with a double-edged weapon: on the one side it stimulates internal rebellion fed on popular discontent, and on the other it swoops down with its arms at an opportune moment. It will not be difficult to mislead the Manipuris and the Lushais with their Mongolian affinities. Reports are reaching us to the effect that Communists are amassing arms near the Manipur border.

The internecine quarrels among the members of the Tripura Raj family has sapped the administration of the Tripura State of its strength and vitality. Pinched and blockaded by Eastern Pakistan and with practically no communication with the rest of India, the Tripura State is dragging on a precarious existence.

The anti-Bengalee feelings of Assam have left a large section of the Bengalee element in the district of Cachar and Assam portions of Sylhet lukewarm in their affection for the Assam Government. This entire territory consisting of non-Assamese population feel like aliens in Assam politics.

The Assam Government also do not seem to take as much interest for the all-sided development of this zone as for the Assam Valley, partly because of the distance and difficulties of communication and partly because of the difference in language and culture. Moreover, Assam's armed strength and the calibre of its forces do not seem to be competent enough to meet any such emergency. So the problem of this territory of 25 thousand sq. miles surrounded on three sides by foreign states and separated from Assam by a tongue of hill should be dispassionately studied against this background. And the only solution that suggests itself as most appropriate is to create a separate frontier Province with

this geographical unit under the direct administration of the Centre. Assam has neither the resources nor the capacity for the development of this zone.

A network of the road system of strategic value will have to be set up immediately. The natural and forest resources of this new Province will have to be tapped, its mineral wealth (including oil) exploited, hydraulic power harnessed, and its agriculture and industries to be so developed that the zone may become self-sufficient in regard to the normal necessities of life and may stand on its own resources if the supply line with Assam is cut off.

This zone, if thus developed under the administration of the Central Government, will prove to be a tower of strength for the Indian Dominion.

In case it becomes at any time necessary to effect a transfer of non-Muslims from East Bengal, this new Province with a density of population as low as 100 per sq. mile can provide accommodation for a large number of such refugees coming from the neighbouring districts of Sylhet, Tippera, Mymensingh, Noakhali and Chittagong.

So, having regard to the strategic importance and the geography of this territory, the claim for etching out a separate Province to be centrally administered seems irresistible.

The defence of the exposed promontory in the north-east of India is badly in need of being strengthened and all defence measures speeded up. The vulnerability of this zone has been proved by the frequent trans-border raids carried out within last few months in Karimganj from the neighbouring Pakistan regions. The incident in the Patharia Reserve leading to its forcible occupation by the Pakistan Government and the ultimate setting up of a Boundary Commission is but another pointer to the exposed character of our borders.

Secretary
Purbachal Organisation Committee
Karimganj, Assam

25. *Copy of a telegram from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to C. Rajagopalachari, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, K.M. Munshi, Swami Ramanand Tirtha and General Rajendra Singhji (G.O.C. Southern Command)*

ACCEPT NATIONS CONGRATULATIONS ON SPEEDY AND SATISFACTORY TERMINATION OF ACTION IN HYDERABAD

26. Draft Constitution of the Indian National Congress

OBJECT

Article I. The object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India by peaceful and legitimate means of a Cooperative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

CONSTITUENTS

Article II. The Indian National Congress will comprise:

- (a) Primary members under Article IV;
- (b) Primary Congress Panchayats in a village, in a group of villages, in a ward of a town and in a part of a town;
- (c) District Congress Committees and such intermediate Committees as the P.C.C. may decide;
- (d) Provincial Congress Committees;
- (e) All India Congress Committee;
- (f) Working Committee;
- (g) Annual session of the Congress;
- (h) Affiliated bodies—A.I.S.A., A.I.V.I.A., Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh, and Goseva Sangh

and may comprise:

- (i) Committees or associations organised or created or affiliated by the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee, and
- (ii) Committees organised or created by any Provincial Congress Committees in accordance with the rules framed by it in that behalf and approved by the Working Committee.

THE TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Article III. (a) The following shall be the Provinces with the headquarters mentioned against them:

<i>Province</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
(1) Ajmer-Merwara	Hindustani	Ajmer
(2) Andhra	Telugu	Bezwada
(3) Assam	Assamese	Gauhati
(4) Bihar	Hindustani	Patna

<i>Province</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
(5) West Bengal	Bengali	Calcutta
(6) Bombay (City)	Marathi and Gujarati	Bombay
(7) Delhi	Hindustani	Delhi
(8) Gujarat	Gujarati	Ahmedabad
(9) Karnataka	Kannada	Hubli
(10) Kerala	Malayalam	Calicut
(11) Mahakoshal	Hindustani	Jubbulpore
(12) Maharashtra	Marathi	Poona
(13) Nagpur	Marathi	Nagpur
(14) East Punjab	Punjabi	
(15) Tamil Nadu	Tamil	Madras
(16) United Provinces	Hindustani	Lucknow.
(17) Utkal	Oriya	Cuttack
(18) Vidarbha (Berar)	Marathi	Akola

Note: The question of East Bengal, Sind, West Punjab and N.W.F.P. has yet to be decided by the A.I.C.C. The Committee recommends that the Indian National Congress should not function in areas outside the Indian Union.

(b) A Provincial Congress Committee with the previous sanction of the Working Committee shall have the power to change its headquarters from time to time.

(c) The Working Committee may, after ascertaining the wishes of the Provincial Congress Committee or Committees concerned, constitute a new Province, a district or a portion or portions of a district from another Province as also assign any acceding State or States or part or parts thereof to any Province, or if necessary constitute such a State or States in a Province.

(d) The Working Committee shall have power to give representation to such area or areas in India or outside as have not been included in the jurisdiction of any P.C.C. or direct that such an area or areas be included in a neighbouring Province.

MEMBERSHIP

Article IV. (a) Primary membership: Any person of the age of 21 years and over who believes in Article I shall, on making a written declaration to that effect on Form A, be deemed to be a primary member of the Congress. He shall be entitled to be placed on the list of primary members which shall be kept at the office of the Primary Congress Panchayat, in whose jurisdiction he ordinarily resides or carries on business, provided that no person shall be a primary member in two constituencies simultaneously.

(b) On declaration on Form A the person declaring shall receive an acknowledgement which shall be conclusive proof of his having become a

primary member of the Congress.

(c) Unless otherwise directed by the Working Committee and irrespective of the date of enrolment, the period for primary membership of any member shall lapse at the end of the triennial period fixed by the Working Committee.

(d) *Qualified membership:* A primary member shall be deemed to be a qualified member eligible for election to a Primary Congress Panchayat if he answers the following description:

He shall be a habitual wearer of certified Khadi made from hand-spun yarn and a teetotaller. He must have abjured untouchability in any shape or form. He must be a believer in intercommunal unity and *in equality of opportunity for all. He must also believe in status being determined by service and usefulness and not by race, creed or sex.*

Provided that he is not a member of any other political party which has a separate membership, constitution and programme and that he registers himself as such by a written application to the D.C.C. in Form B along with a fee of Re.1 by a date fixed by the Working Committee and provided he is so certified by the Credentials Committee and has been a primary member for at least two years consecutively.

(e) The D.C.C. shall, within one month of the receipt of the application of a primary member to be enrolled as a qualified member, duly enter the applicant's name in the Register of Qualified Members and issue a card to the applicant as per Form C provided that the District Credentials Committee as per Article XX has scrutinised the same and permitted it to be entered in the Register of Qualified Members.

(f) Every qualified member shall annually pay a fee of Re.1 to the respective D.C.C. provided that the fee he has paid with the application shall be credited as his fee for the first year.

(g) *Effective members:* A qualified member shall be deemed to be an effective member, entitled to stand as candidate for all Congress Committees, provided he devotes regularly a part of his time to some form of national or constructive activity as laid down from time to time by the Congress, and signs a declaration to that effect, as per Form D, and files it with the respective D.C.C. by a date fixed by the Working Committee and is approved by the Provincial Credentials Committee and his name must have been on the list of effective members for at least one year.

(h) The D.C.C. shall, on receipt of the application of a qualified member to be enrolled as an effective member, forward the same to the P.C.C. and the P.C.C. shall duly enter the applicant's name in the Register of Effective Members and issue a card to the applicant as per Form E provided that the Provincial Credentials Committee as per Article XX has scrutinised the same and permitted it to be entered in the Register of Effective Members and the applicant's name must have been on the list of qualified members for at least one year.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP

Article V. (a) The term of every member of the Congress shall be three years (subject to clause (c) of Article IV unless he is disqualified).

(b) The term of every Primary Congress Panchayat and Congress Committee shall ordinarily be three years.

REGISTER OF MEMBERS

Article VI. (a) Every Primary Congress Panchayat shall maintain a list of its primary members.

(b) Every D.C.C. shall maintain a Register of Qualified Members and Members of Panchayat within its jurisdiction and shall send a certified list of the same to its P.C.C.

(c) Every P.C.C. shall maintain a Register of Effective Members within its jurisdiction and shall supply a certified list of the same to the respective D.C.C.

(d) The registers mentioned in clauses (b) and (c) shall state the full name, address, age, occupation and residence of each member.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTERS AND CANDIDATES

Article VII. A. *Voters:* (a) Every primary member of the Congress who has enrolled himself (or herself) as such within the prescribed period and whose name appears on the list of primary members shall be entitled to vote at the election of the Primary Congress Panchayat of his (or her) constituency.

(b) *All members of the Panchayats and effective members residing* in the constituency shall alone be entitled to vote at the elections of all higher Congress Committees, subject to provisions made in this behalf by respective Provincial Congress Committees.

B. *Candidates:* (a) No primary member, who is not a qualified member of at least two years' standing, shall be eligible for being a candidate for the election of a Primary Congress Panchayat.

(b) No qualified member, who is not also an effective member for at least one year before the date of election, shall be eligible to stand as candidate for any election to any Congress Committee other than a Primary Congress Panchayat.

PRIMARY CONGRESS PANCHAYAT

Article VIII. (a) A Primary Congress Panchayat shall consist of qualified members elected by the primary members of a village, group of villages, a municipal ward, part of a ward, a town or a part of a town in a public meeting called for the purpose on a date prescribed by the respective P.C.C.

(b) The jurisdiction of any Primary Congress Panchayat shall not ordinarily

extend beyond a population of 2,500 adult voters on the list of Government Electoral Rolls.

(c) No Primary Congress Panchayat shall consist of *less than three or more than ten members, provided that there is not more than one member for every 250 adults.*

(d) No Primary Congress Panchayat shall be formed in an area unless 8% of the adult voters on the Government Electoral Rolls have enrolled themselves as primary members.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES

Article IX. (a) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall prepare lists of qualified and effective members and members of the Panchayat in the Province, and shall send to the A.I.C.C. office a statement in regard to them on or before a date fixed by the Working Committee. This statement will be in the form prescribed by the A.I.C.C.

(b) In the event of a Provincial Congress Committee failing to furnish a statement in time, the Province concerned may be disentitled to elect its delegates.

(c) On receipt of the aforesaid statement the Working Committee shall fix the date by which the election of delegates must be held.

(d) Provincial Congress Committees shall divide the Province into fixed territorial constituencies which shall not be disturbed without the permission of the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee.

(e) Every Province shall be entitled to return delegates to the Congress in the proportion of one for every lakh of population in a contiguous area, provided that there are 500 primary members and at least 25 qualified members in that area.

(f) The ex-Presidents of each P.C.C. resident in the Province and members of the A.I.C.C. co-opted from affiliated associations under Article II shall be deemed to be delegates provided they are otherwise qualified under the constitution.

(g) Bombay City shall have a maximum of 30 delegates and the Province of Delhi a maximum of 25 delegates.

(h) Every delegate shall, on payment of a fee of Rs.10 at the office of the P.C.C. of his Province, receive a certificate in accordance with Form "F" duly signed by one of its Secretaries. No delegate who has not paid his fee shall be entitled to exercise any of his functions.

(i) The Province which has not completed the election of delegates on or before the date appointed by the Working Committee may, at the discretion of the Working Committee, be disentitled to be represented at the Congress session.

(j) A certified list of delegates shall be submitted by the P.C.C. to the A.I.C.C. not later than the date fixed by the Working Committee in that behalf.

A.I.C.C. ELECTIONS

Article X. (a) The delegates in every Province shall assemble in a meeting to elect from amongst themselves one-eighth of their number, as representatives of the Province on the A.I.C.C. provided that no Province shall have less than 5 representatives on the A.I.C.C.

(b) The election, mentioned in clause (a), shall be by distributive vote as regards two-thirds of the members returnable to the A.I.C.C. and by proportional representation by single transferable vote as regards the remaining one-third.

(c) The Secretaries of the respective P.C.C.s shall issue certificates of membership of the A.I.C.C. to the persons elected to it.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Article XI. (a) The Provincial Congress Committee in each Province shall consist of the delegates from the Province and those mentioned in clause (b) of this Article, provided they pay Rs.5 annually to the respective P.C.C.s. In case the number of such delegates is less than 35 any number required to make the number of the members of the Provincial Congress Committee 35 will be co-opted by the delegates provided that the number of members so co-opted shall not exceed one-fifth of the number of delegates from the Province.

(b) The Presidents and ex-Presidents of the Congress, the ex-Presidents of the P.C.C. and any other person or persons within the jurisdiction of the P.C.C. who have been co-opted by the A.I.C.C. for any reason shall also be members of the P.C.C. and delegates to the Congress provided that they are duly qualified under Article IV.

(c) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall

- (i) ordinarily function through District and Taluka or Tehsil Congress Committees formed in respective administrative divisions of the area consisting of not more than 100 members in the case of D.C.C. and 40 in the case of Taluka or Tehsil Congress Committees, provided that such Committees shall include, as ex-officio members, those who have been elected to the P.C.C. from that area;
- (ii) subject to the general supervision and control of the A.I.C.C., be in charge of the affairs of the Congress Committee within its own Province and to that end frame its provincial constitution, not inconsistent with this constitution, which shall come into operation only with the previous sanction of the Working Committee;
- (iii) submit to the Working Committee an annual report of the work done in the Province by the Provincial Congress organisation including an audited balance sheet;
- (iv) before the new A.I.C.C. meets the P.C.C. shall pay the Working Committee

the fees and subscriptions fixed by the A.I.C.C. from time to time. Delegates and members of the A.I.C.C. from Provinces in default shall not be permitted to take part in any of the proceedings of the Congress or any Committee thereof.

(d) (i) No Provincial Congress Committee shall be recognised by the Working Committee unless it has complied with the conditions laid down by the Working Committee.

(ii) On failure of any Provincial Congress Committee to function in terms of the constitution, the Working Committee may suspend the existing P.C.C. and form one to carry on Congress work in the Province.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Article XII. (a) The President of the Congress session, members of the A.I.C.C. elected under Article X, the ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are qualified under Article IV, the Treasurer of the Congress and representatives of affiliated associations, if any, shall constitute the All India Congress Committee, provided that such representatives shall not exceed one-fifth of the elected number of members.

(b) The A.I.C.C. shall carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from session to session and have power to deal with matters that may arise during its term of office.

(c) The A.I.C.C. shall have power to frame rules, not inconsistent with this constitution, for regulating all matters connected with the Congress which shall be binding on all subordinate Congress Committees.

(d) The President of the Congress session or President elected under Article XVI shall be the Chairman of the All India Congress Committee.

(e) The A.I.C.C. shall meet as often as required by the Working Committee, or on joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee, by not less than 40 members. Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the A.I.C.C. At any such meeting additional items of business may be brought up for consideration, provided due notice thereof has been given to the members. At least one full day shall be allotted for consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by the members of the A.I.C.C. in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(f) Sixty or one-fifth of the total number of members, whichever is less, shall form the quorum for a meeting of the A.I.C.C.

(g) The A.I.C.C. shall function till the meeting of the newly elected A.I.C.C.

(h) The A.I.C.C. may from time to time affiliate to the Congress such associations and give them such representation as it may deem necessary, provided such associations are calculated to further or assist the object of the Congress.

(i) Every member of the A.I.C.C. shall pay an annual subscription of Rs.10

payable at or before the first meeting of the A.I.C.C. in any year. Members in default shall not be permitted to take part in any meeting of the A.I.C.C., the Subjects Committee, or any Congress session.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

Article XIII. (a) The newly elected A.I.C.C. shall meet as the Subjects Committee, under the chairmanship of the President-elect at least two days before the Congress session. The outgoing Working Committee, presided over by the President-elect, shall submit to it the draft programme of work for the Congress session including resolutions recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees.

(b) The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the programme and shall frame resolutions for being moved in the open session. At least one day shall be allotted by the Subjects Committee for the consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by the Provincial Congress Committees or members of the A.I.C.C.

CONGRESS SESSION

Article XIV. (a) The session of the Congress shall be ordinarily held annually at the time and place decided upon by the All India Congress.

(b) The Congress session shall consist of:

- (i) The President of the Congress;
- (ii) The ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are duly qualified under Article IV;
- (iii) The delegates elected under Article II and the representatives under clause (h), Article II.

(c) (i) The Congress session shall consider and pass resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee in the first instance.

(ii) Thereafter the session shall take up any substantive motion not included in (i) but which 25 delegates have, before the commencement of the day's sitting, requested the President in writing to allow them to place before the Congress, provided however that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee, and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present in the Subjects Committee.

(d) The Provincial Congress Committee, in whose jurisdiction the Congress session is held, shall make such arrangements for holding the Congress session as may be deemed necessary, and for this purpose shall form a Reception Committee which shall work under its general guidance and which may include therein persons who are not its members.

(e) The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

(f) The Reception Committee shall collect funds for the expenses of the session, shall make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and may also make necessary arrangements for visitors.

(g) The receipts and disbursements of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with auditor's report shall be submitted by the Provincial Congress Committee to the Working Committee not later than three months after the termination of the Congress session. Any surplus funds remaining with the Reception Committee shall be divided equally between the A.I.C.C. and the P.C.C.

SPECIAL SESSION

Article XV. (a) A special session of the Congress shall be held in case the A.I.C.C. so decides or a majority of the P.C.C.s, by special resolutions, request the President of the Congress to convene such a special session.

(b) Such a special session shall be organised in the same manner as a Congress session by the P.C.C. which is so directed by the Congress Working Committee.

(c) The President and delegates of the next preceding Congress session shall be the President and delegates respectively of the special session.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

Article XVI. (a) Any ten delegates may jointly send the name of any delegate or ex-President of the Congress duly qualified under Article XI whom they propose to be the elected President of the next Congress session, so as to reach the General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. on or before a date fixed by the Working Committee.

(b) The General Secretary shall publish the name of all persons so proposed, and it shall be open to any person whose name has been so proposed to withdraw his candidature within ten days of the publication of the proposed name, by writing to the General Secretary to that effect.

(c) After eliminating the names of those who have withdrawn, the General Secretary shall immediately publish the names of the remaining candidates and circulate them to the Provincial Congress Committees.

(d) On a date fixed by the Working Committee, which shall not ordinarily be less than seven days after the final publication of the names of contesting candidates, each delegate shall be entitled to record, for the selection of a President, his vote by ballot in case there are more than two candidates, in the following manner:

On the voting paper, which shall include the names of all candidates, the delegate shall show at least three preferences if there are three or more candidates, by writing the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., against the names of the candidates voted for. Delegates may give more than three preferences if they wish to do so. Any voting paper showing less than 3 preferences will be regarded as invalid.

(e) The Provincial Congress Committee shall report immediately to the A.I.C.C. office the number and class of preference recorded in favour of each candidate.

(f) As soon as may be after the receipt of such reports the General Secretary shall, by the process of eliminating those candidates who secure the smallest number of votes, announce as President-elect the name of the candidate who has secured not less than 50% of the votes polled.

(g) In the event of any emergency arising by reason of any cause such as death or resignation of the President elected as above, the General Secretary shall forthwith fix a date for a fresh election by the delegates as prescribed above. In case such procedure is not found possible, the A.I.C.C. shall elect the President.

WORKING COMMITTEE

Article XVII. (a) The Working Committee shall consist of the President of the Congress session, a Vice-President, a Treasurer and eighteen members including one or more Secretaries. All the members of the Working Committee shall be appointed by the President ordinarily from amongst the members of the A.I.C.C., provided, however, that a delegate so appointed shall cease to be a member of the Working Committee if he is not elected as a member of the A.I.C.C. within the next 6 months.

(b) The Working Committee shall be the highest executive authority of the Congress and as such shall have the power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the Congress and by the A.I.C.C. and shall be responsible to the A.I.C.C.

(c) The Working Committee shall place before every meeting of the A.I.C.C. the reports of its proceedings and the agenda of the meeting and shall allot time for non-official resolutions of which due notice may have been given by the members of the A.I.C.C. in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(d) The Working Committee shall appoint one or more auditors and inspectors to examine the records, papers and accounts books of all Congress Committees and organisations, which shall furnish all information and give to the inspectors and auditors access to all offices, accounts and records.

(e) The Working Committee shall have the power

(i) to frame rules subject to the approval of A.I.C.C. and to issue instructions as may be necessary not inconsistent with the constitution and the rules for the

specified by the Working Committee, the latter shall appoint one.

(d) The Provincial Election Tribunal shall in its first meeting frame rules of procedure for the conduct of its business as well as that of the district election tribunals and shall file a copy of the same with the P.C.C., provided that such rules of procedure shall not be inconsistent with any rules made by the Working Committee.

OBJECTIONS

Article XXII. (a) Any person whose name is omitted or incorrectly entered in the Register of Qualified or Effective Members or who objects to the entry of any name therein may submit an objection in writing stating the reasons for challenging such entry or omission to the person or persons authorised therefor by the District Credentials Committee on or before a date to be fixed by the Executive of the P.C.C.

(b) After hearing the objection and any other party concerned, the District Credentials Committee may direct the name to be entered into, altered, or omitted from the Electoral Roll.

(c) The District Credentials Committee shall maintain a brief record of proceedings before it, and a copy of its order directing any amendment shall be forwarded to the Congress Committee concerned which shall take necessary action.

ELECTION DISPUTES

Article XXIII. (a) It will be open to any voter within a constituency to lodge a complaint in respect of an election within that constituency before the District Election Tribunal within seven days of the declaration of the result of such election and the District Election Tribunal shall decide the complaint within one month of the receipt of such complaint.

(b) Until the election is set aside by the District Tribunal the person elected shall be deemed to have been duly elected.

(c) An appeal shall lie to the Provincial Election Tribunal within seven days of the receipt of such order by the party. The order of the Provincial Election Tribunal, to be given within one month of the receipt of the appeal, shall be final.

(d) The Working Committee may lay down rules for the conduct of elections and lodging and disposal of objections and complaints and appeals, and such rules when laid down shall supersede rules made by the P.C.C.

(e) The Provincial Election Tribunal shall, on its own motion or on report by a District Tribunal or on the motion of the P.C.C. or on the motion of a party, have the power to direct that any person found guilty of misconduct in connection with any elections, maintenance of registers and rolls of members, lodging of a false complaint or objection knowing it to be so, shall be disqualified from

standing as a candidate for election or be expelled from the Congress for such a period as it may consider just and proper. An appeal shall lie to the Working Committee from any order passed by the Provincial Election Tribunal under this clause.

VACANCIES

Article XXIV. The office of a delegate or a member of the A.I.C.C. or of a P.C.C. shall be deemed to have been vacated by resignation, death or by six months' continuous absence from India without special permission from the Congress Committee concerned and shall be filled in the same manner in which the vacating member was chosen. A vacancy on the Working Committee shall be filled by the President.

CENSUS AND FRACTIONS

Article XXV. (a) Population figures of the last available census and the latest adult voters' list shall be the basis for all Congress purposes.

(b) Where there is a question of the value of fractions, a fraction of one-half or more shall be treated as one, and less than one-half as zero.

LANGUAGE

Article XXVI. (a) The proceedings of the Congress, the A.I.C.C. and the Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted and recorded in Hindustani in Nagari script, provided however that English or any other Provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever permitted by the President.

(b) The proceedings of a Provincial Congress Committee shall be conducted and recorded in the language of the Province. Hindustani may also be used.

FLAG

Article XXVII. The Flag of the Indian National Congress shall be of tricolour (red, white and green) with charkha in the centre as it is today.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES

Article XXVIII. A. Parliamentary Election Committee: (a) In the conduct of general election and the selection of candidates for the Central and Provincial Legislatures there shall be Parliamentary Election Committees both at the Centre and in the Provinces.

(b) Provincial Election Committees shall be elected by the general meeting of the P.C.C. and the Committee at the Centre by the A.I.C.C.

(c) The names of candidates selected by Provincial Committees for election shall be subject to the approval of the Central Committee.

B. *Parliamentary Board*: (a) There shall be a Central Parliamentary Board consisting of seven members elected by the A.I.C.C. at its first meeting after general election of the Congress. Its term of office shall be three years.

(b) It shall be consulted in the formation of Central and Provincial Ministries by the leaders of Central and Provincial Legislature Parties and also whenever a Ministry is to be expanded or reorganised.

(c) It shall collect and collate information regarding legislative and broad administrative matters affecting Provinces and States and take measures to co-ordinate and correlate them.

(d) The Board should see to it that Congress policies as outlined in the Election Manifestoes and as decided upon from time to time by the Congress are given effect to.

(e) It shall meet not less than once in a quarter and submit report of its working to the Working Committee.

(f) It shall be the confirming authority for the selection of candidates for all interim vacancies in the Provincial or Central Legislatures.

(g) It shall elect its own Chairman and shall make its own rules of procedure for the conduct of business. Three should form the quorum.

CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION

Article XXIX. (a) The foregoing constitution can be amended, altered, or added to only by the Congress except when the A.I.C.C. has been authorised to do so. In case such authority has been given by the Congress then the Constitution can be amended only by a majority of two-thirds of members present and voting at a meeting of the A.I.C.C., provided notice of such proposed changes has been given to each member at least one month before the date of the meeting.

(b) In case of grave emergency, the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee shall have power to declare an emergency and to suspend part or parts of the foregoing constitution in the duration of such emergency and to substitute such provisions as are necessary to carry on the work of the Congress, provided that immediately after such an emergency is over, the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee shall promulgate a declaration to that effect and the normal constitution shall forthwith come into force.

DEFINITIONS

Article XXX. 1. 'Ward' is part of a city which is considered as a unit for purposes of Municipal Elections or for organising a Primary Congress Panchayat.

2. Village group is a group of villages considered as one unit for organising a Primary Congress Panchayat.

3. 'Town' is a big village with a population of not more than ten thousand persons.

4. Primary Congress Panchayats are all Congress Committees mentioned in Article II (b).

5. 'Habitual Wearer of Khadi' is one who for all personal wear uses hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.

6. 'Office' means the post of President, Secretary, Treasurer, or a member of the Executive Committee of the Congress Committee.

7. 'Untouchability' is the custom which taboos the touch of a person or his belongings simply because he is born in a particular caste or belongs to a particular religion.

8. 'Constitution' means the constitution of the Indian National Congress.

9. 'Executive' means the executive committee of any Congress Committee.

Jugal Kishore
Convener, Constitution Sub-Committee

FORM A
(Article IV(a))

Application Form

To

The Secretary,
..... Congress Committee.

I hereby declare that I believe in the following Article I of the [Constitution of the] Indian National Congress:

The object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India by peaceful and legitimate means of a Cooperative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

Full name (including father's or husband's)

Place of residence

.....
(Signature of applicant)

FORM B
(Article IV (d))

Qualified Member

I am a primary member of the Congress.

I am a habitual wearer of Khadi made from hand-spun yarn and a teetotaller. I have abjured untouchability in any shape or form. I am a believer in intercommunal unity and in equality of opportunity for all. I also believe in status being determined by service and usefulness and not by race, creed or sex.

Full name

Father's or husband's name

Postal address

Place of residence

Village

Taluka, thana or ward

District Province

Date of application

.....
(Signature of Secretary)

.....
(Signature of applicant)

FORM C
(Article IV (e))

Certificate of Qualified Membership

Certified that Shri is duly enrolled a qualified member of the Indian National Congress and bears Register No. in the Congress Committee in Taluka in the District of Province.

.....
Secretary
District/City Congress Committee

FORM D
(Article IV (g))

Effective Member

I am a primary member of the Indian National Congress.

I am a habitual wearer of Khadi made from hand-spun yarn and a teetotaller. I

have abjured untouchability in any shape or form. I am a believer in intercommunal unity and in equality of opportunity for all. I also believe in status being determined by service and usefulness and not by race, creed or sex.

I devote regularly a part of my time to the following constructive or national activity:

1. Communal unity
2. Removal of untouchability
3. Prohibition
4. Khadi
5. Other village industries
6. Village sanitation
7. New or basic education
8. Adult education
9. Education in health and hygiene
10. Uplift of women
11. Propaganda of Rashtrabhasha and provincial languages
12. Working for economic equality
13. Organisation of kisans
14. Organisation of labour
15. Organisation of students
16. Service of Adivasis
17. Relief work
18. Parliamentary work
19. Congress organisation

or any other activity recommended by the Working Committee or the A.I.C.C.

FORM E
(Article IV (h))

Certificate of Effective Membership

Certified that Shri..... is duly enrolled an effective member of the Indian National Congress and bears Register No..... in the..... Congress Committee in Taluka in the District..... of..... Province.

.....
Secretary
..... Provincial Congress Committee

FORM F
(Article IX (h))

Certificate of Delegation

Delegate No. of Province.

I hereby certify that Shri has been duly elected as a delegate to the Indian National Congress for the year

Full name
 Age Sex
 Occupation
 Address
 Register No. of the Primary Committee of
 Taluka District Constituency
 Date of election
 Place
 Date

.....
 Secretary

..... Provincial Congress Committee

27. *Proposal of the States Sub-Committee for the reconstitution of the Vindhya Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee*

The members of the States Committee who were in Delhi met as directed by the Working Committee and drafted the following proposal in accordance with the principles laid down by the Working Committee at its last meeting and its previous meetings. The draft proposal is to be sent to the President for his consideration and approval.

DRAFT PROPOSAL

In view of the decision of the Working Committee that only delegates entitled to attend the Gwalior Conference should be members of the Provincial Congress Committee and no delegate or member of D.C.C. should be disqualified on the ground that he had not been enlisted as a primary member of the Congress or of the Praja Mandal in 1947, the Committee has made the following proposals for the reconstitution of the Vindhya Pradesh P.C.C.:

Provincial Congress Committee

- (a) That all delegates to the Meerut Congress session including those who have been disqualified on the ground that they were not members of the Primary Congress Committee should become members of the proposed P.C.C. which should consist of 36 delegates only;
- (b) that ordinarily delegates should be members of the P.C.C. in areas where their quota exceeds 25;
- (c) that the vacancies, stated to be nine, caused by death, resignation or disqualification for breach of discipline should now be filled by the Bundelkhand delegates to the Gwalior Conference from among themselves as this would enable Bundelkhand to have 12 delegates instead of 3 as at present; and
- (d) that the election of delegates held recently should be set aside for the following reasons:
 - (i) that the election of delegates for vacancies caused or declared, for whatever reasons, which should have been filled according to the resolution of the Working Committee passed in September by the Gwalior Conference delegates, were instead filled by the D.C.C.s;
 - (ii) as Bundelkhand has very few delegates, no one excepting Bundelkhand members of the Gwalior Conference should have been allowed to fill up the vacancies thus ensuring Bundelkhand of at least 12 delegates;
 - (iii) that those members of the D.C.C. who were disqualified for not having renewed their primary membership were not allowed to participate in the election of delegates.

The acceptance of the proposal would give Rewa 24 and Bundelkhand 12 delegates.

District Congress Committees

The D.C.C. of Rewa to consist of all Rewa members of the D.C.C. of Baghelkhand and Rewa members of the Regional Council including those who were debarred on the ground that they had not enlisted as primary members.

Similarly the D.C.C. Bundelkhand to consist of Bundelkhand members of the D.C.C. Baghelkhand and all Bundelkhand members of the Regional Council including those debarred.

The Committee has further suggested that the election of delegates from Bundelkhand should be held as soon as possible to enable them to attend the Jaipur session and the P.C.C. thus reconstituted should elect its office-bearers either before or immediately after the Jaipur session and the existing Provisional P.C.C. should cease to function.

The above suggestions should be communicated to the President and as soon as his approval is received, the A.I.C.C. office to arrange for the election of new delegates and of office-bearers of the P.C.C.

28. *An article by K.G. Mashruwala*

THE SCRIPT PROBLEM OF INDIA

The script problem in inter-provincial and all-India affairs has become rather complex. On the one side there are those who believe that it could be solved by the adoption of the Roman script. On the other are those who are very strongly opposed to the use of that script. On the third side stands the fact that no Province or language, which has a special script of its own, is prepared to give up that script.

I believe that it will be absolutely necessary for us to take certain amount of assistance of the Roman script for the solution of this problem. The question whether the Roman script would alone survive, or that it will co-exist with other scripts, is one which I would leave to the future. Immediately, I present for public consideration a proposal or formula which stands midway. I hope that, on full deliberation, it should satisfy our reason.

The formula proposed by me is as under:

(1) In the first place, the Roman script should be so perfected and standardised that it would be possible to indicate the sounds of the various Indian languages with their important differentiations as exactly and unmistakably as possible, and which could also be transmitted telegraphically. At any rate it should not be less perfect than the Sanskrit or Nagari alphabet. Such standard Roman script alone should be used officially in the country for the spelling of Indian words.

(2) The standard Roman script should be taught to every person after he has acquired knowledge and practice of his usual mother-tongue script.

(3) Every Province should give equal recognition to the various mother-tongue scripts current in that Province and the standard Roman script. That is to say, a person should be at liberty to use either one of the recognised mother-tongue scripts of the Province or the standard Roman script in writing, presenting documents, or sending printed matter to any public office. All official and semi-official public notices, sign-boards, communications, etc., whether in one of the recognised languages of the Province or in Hindustani, should be written in both the scripts, namely, the usual local script and the standard Roman script.

(4) In a multi-linguistic and multi-script Province, the records in the central provincial office of every department may be kept in the standard Roman script (but in the recognised language of the Province or in Hindustani as may be

namely, the mother-tongue script and the standard Roman script. He might study and write even Hindustani either in the mother-tongue script or the Roman script. There is no objection to a person corresponding with, or printing books for, the people of his own Province in his mother-tongue script, even if the language of the communication or book is Hindustani or, for the matter of that, any language whatever. It is so even today. You can have Tulsidas' Ramayan or the Bhagavad Gita printed in the Gujarati character. I read in a life-sketch of the late Abbas Tyabjee an anecdote which showed that at one time it was not unusual for the Mussalmans of Gujarat to write Gujarati in the Urdu script. In Bengal, Andhra, Karnataka, Orissa, etc., Sanskrit books are invariably printed in the provincial script and not in Devanagari. The Hindi and Urdu plays and songs of the Gujarati theatre are invariably printed in the Gujarati script. This means that there need be no objection to Hindustani or any other language being written and printed in the mother-tongue script for *intra*-provincial purposes. The standard Roman script being available for every language (including Hindustani) for *inter*-provincial purposes, it would not be necessary to make knowledge of several scripts compulsory.

This proposal, I believe, will also ultimately solve the problem of Hindustani-Hindi-Urdu both in respect of styles of writing and their scripts. The two styles, which tend at present to widen the gulf between Hindi and Urdu and might develop into two distinct languages, would be brought nearer each other by even the optional use of this common script. If good high Hindi and high Urdu books are available in the Roman script also, the knowledge of the script would encourage the study of both the styles. The situation today is that even if a Nagari-man knows a little of the Urdu script and an Urdu-script-man knows a little Nagari, their practice of the other is so limited that it cannot be expected that either would read many books printed in the less familiar script. Only those who have to do it compulsorily for scholarship in languages would do so.

Clauses (3) and (4) follow as corollaries to the first two clauses. It is not therefore necessary to dilate upon them.

I hope this will receive mature consideration by the learned men forging the Constitution of India.

29. Statement showing Budget position of the A.I.C.C. for the year 1946-47

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
(SWARAJ BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD)

Head of Account	Budgeted Amount	Actual Expenses	Remarks
1. Establishment	90,000-0-0	65,255-11-11	
2. Postage & Telegrams	10,000-0-0	5,010-6-9	

Head of Account	Budgeted Amount	Actual Expenses	Remarks
3. Stationery & Printing	10,000-0-0	27,533-1-0	The excess expenditure is due to payment of the printing bills of literature for Congress session which should have been paid by the Reception Committee, Meerut. Also, we printed several pamphlets of different departments which were not estimated for in the beginning.
4. Travelling Expenses	25,000-0-0	22,224-5-9	
5. Rents & Taxes	6,000-0-0	8,509-12-6	Delhi office expenses.
6. Telephone Charges	1,000-0-0	2,760-8-6	Delhi office expenses.
7. Misc. Charges, including Conveyance	11,000-0-0	14,332-1-7½	Delhi office expenses.
8. Library	5,000-0-0	5,382-0-9	
9. Furniture	8,000-0-0	19,070-9-9	Price of two cars purchased during the year was not estimated for in the budget.
10. Foreign News Service	13,0000-0-0	336-1-0	
11. Swaraj Bhawan	5,000-0-0	2,614-2-0	
Total	1,84,500-0-0	1,73,028-13½	

The following excess expenditures over the budgeted amounts under different heads during the year 1946-47 are sanctioned:

1. Stationery and Printing	17,533-1-0
2. Rents and Taxes	2,509-12-6
3. Telephone Charges	1,260-8-0
4. Miscellaneous Charges	3,332-1-7½
5. Library	382-0-9
6. Deadstock and Furniture	11,070-9-9

30. A note by Balkrishna, Research Officer of the Constituent Assembly, on the need of a Hindustani Research Unit

It may be taken for granted that the Constituent Assembly of India would provide that the state language of India in future be Hindustani. This would be, in my opinion, a revolutionary change not only in the matter of official language but also in many other aspects of life. Some consequences of this change are obvious. In the first place, for example, the introduction of Hindustani would require the training up of hundreds of persons for clerical and other administrative purposes immediately. Not only that, it would also involve the standardisation of the forms in which drafts are to be put up and notes are to be

made in the official business of the Government of India. I purposely speak of standardisation because as yet it is not certain which words can be considered to be of Hindustani and which can be considered to be foreign to Hindustani. This proposition may appear to be very strange but all the same it contains substantial truth. There is a controversy going on at present in the country between three schools of thought each one of which considers that the terms it uses belong to Hindustani while those used by the others are foreign to Hindustani. Thus there are those who stand for a Hindustani which is more or less Sanskritised in character. The terms in such Hindustani are, as a rule, borrowed from Sanskrit and even the grammar of Sanskrit is used in certain respects for forming derivatives. If a person puts up a draft in this kind of Hindustani, it may well be that his superior may consider it to be extremely undesirable and inelegant and even unintelligible on account of the predominance of Sanskrit words in it. Similarly the other schools believe that Hindustani must base itself more or less on Persian. The reason for this view is that legal, administrative and military terms of Persian origin were made current all over India within the state for one thousand years and that terms of Sanskrit origin which may have existed for these purposes were entirely forgotten by the people during this period. Consequently, if Hindustani is to be understood by the people in general, it must not borrow its terms from Sanskrit but must continue to use the current terms, be they of Persian, Arabic, English or any other origin. In actual practice this would mean Hindustani predominantly in Persianised character and the same difficulty would arise in the Government offices if such Hindustani is used. The third view is that Hindustani is the language usually spoken by the common people inhabiting the Delhi or near-about regions in Northern India. But here again the same difficulty exists. In any case there are many terms for which there are no Hindustani equivalents at present and which cannot be taken bodily from English for different kinds of reasons. The question would arise in relation to these terms as to from which source, Persian or Sanskrit, they are to be taken. It is, therefore, plain that even if no other problem arose as a result of introduction of Hindustani, a research unit would be necessary for the purpose of carrying on research and standardising the forms which the Central and Provincial Governments should use in administrative, legislative, judicial, military and other aspects of Governmental business.

But there are other problems that would also arise. There would be the necessity of examining very carefully the possibility of fitting Hindustani script in the modern means of communication and printing. For example, the question of using words for the purpose of telegraph would involve not only the formulation of a telegraphic code but also the manufacture of the teleprinter which may be suitable for the Hindustani script. The teleprinters now used by the Government telegraphic offices are useful only for the Roman script and are practically useless for the Hindustani script. This is a matter for careful investigation not only from the viewpoint of manufacture but also from that of training of personnel, organisation of the offices, and so on. Similarly it is necessary to examine how far

a typewriter can be manufactured which would be useful for the Hindustani script.. I may explain that the existing typewriting machines are not very useful for Hindustani script. Even those which are put in the market by the Remington Company have so many defects that considerable inefficiency results on account of the defects of the machines. The matter requires very careful investigation from all points of view—financial, administrative, mechanical and linguistic. This subject is again closely connected with the standardisation of the forms used by the Government in its official business for the keyboard of the Hindustani typewriters can be successfully designed only if a frequency chart of the letters has been prepared and this cannot be prepared unless there are standard Hindustani forms.

Thirdly, it has to be examined as to what would be the consequences of introduction of Hindustani on the communications that take place between the Government of India and non-Hindustani-speaking regions. This is a problem which may not appear to be very acute today because all Governmental correspondence is carried on in the English language. This is not likely to be the case in future for the Provincial Governments would naturally like to introduce the language of the Province as its official language, and, if so, correspondence of the Provincial Governments is likely to take place with the Centre in the provincial language. In any case there is a chance that some reference may be made in the provincial language and may have to be deciphered by the Department concerned of the Government of India and vice versa. This problem has to be carefully examined. The only likely consequence of the introduction of Hindustani will be to increase the difficulties of the Law Courts and the lawyers. At present judgments and decrees are drawn up in the English language, or this can be prepared, if required, in the English language which is known to the Court officials everywhere. Consequently a judgment passed or a decree made in any Province or State of India can be enforced or executed, as the case may be, in any part of India without any difficulty. The Provincial Governments are bound to introduce the provincial language as the court language also. In that case judgments would be passed and decrees made in the provincial language and it would be difficult to enforce or execute them in other Provinces or States. Moreover the judgments of the High Courts will also be in the provincial languages and it would not be possible for a lawyer of one Province to interpret the judgments of a High Court of another Province or any provision of law which is applicable to both the Provinces. If that be the case, another consequence will be that uniformity in the legal interpretation will be lost and thereby the legal structure of India will be much more complicated than it is today. The Federal Court again will have to hear appeals from the judgments of the High Courts and, as already stated, these will be in the provincial languages. The question of the translation of these judgments would naturally arise. Not only that, the provincial laws also would be in the provincial languages and, consequently, the Federal Court will have to take these little considerations in coming to a judgment on a case coming from a Province. Thus the Federal Court will have

to make some arrangements for the authorised interpretation of the provincial law in the official language of the Government of India. There will be many other consequences which are not visible to the naked eye. It is, therefore, necessary that there should be organised a research unit which would carefully examine all the implications of the introduction of Hindustani as the official language of India. Unless this is done now, it may be found again that the introduction of Hindustani leads the country into unthought of difficulties resulting in either grave loss to the people or considerable slowing down, if not breakdown, of the governmental machinery. It is, therefore, strongly submitted that the President of the Constituent Assembly be pleased to organise such a research unit immediately. The research unit has to be organised by the Constituent Assembly because Hindustani would become the state language as a result of the decision of the Constituent Assembly and as such the Assembly must take all precautions so that the decision may not lead the country to grave difficulties.

If this reason be correct, I would suggest that a Hindustani research section having the following technical personnel be immediately organised: one Director, one Senior Research Officer and six Junior or Assistant Research Officers. The Director will co-ordinate the work of the entire section. He must be a person who is very well educated and has knowledge of law, administration and language. It is evident that only such a highly qualified person will be in a position to guide the section in the collection of the necessary data and the formulation of the necessary recommendations. The Senior Research Officer will be assisting the Director in the performance of his duties. The Senior Research Officer must, therefore, be well versed in law, administration and language. The Junior Research Officers should have the following qualifications: Everyone must have some research experience, specially in the matter of collecting statistics and data. Each one must have some knowledge of law and administration. Each one of them must know one provincial language very thoroughly. The knowledge of other provincial languages would be an additional qualification. Thus one Research Officer may be appointed for the Deccan group of languages, another for Bengali and Assamese, still another for Gujarati and Marathi and still another for Punjabi, Rajasthani and Hindustani.

The work the section would be required to do: The section may be asked to collect all necessary data and to formulate all necessary recommendations on the basis of the data for the introduction of Hindustani as the official language of India. This would mean that the section would have to undertake the following investigations:

Firstly, compilation of the terms in use in each provincial language for legal, administrative, military and other branches of governmental business. These terms would have to be collected from many sources such as journals, dailies and periodicals, literature, official correspondence, revenue records, etc., etc. It would be considerably hard work to do and would take some time to complete.

Secondly, the preparation of a dictionary which shall give the English technical terms and their equivalents in each of the provincial languages as also

Hindustani.

Thirdly, it shall prepare after consultation with the Ministries and the Courts standard forms to be used therein for purposes of transacting business etc. These forms will be in Hindustani and in all the provincial languages.

Fourthly, it will collect all the data relating to the best suitable teleprinters, typewriters, calculators and other machines used in the transaction of governmental business. Apart from this work, the section will also undertake such other work as appears to be necessary for the fulfilment of its main duty, that is, investigation of all the implications and consequences of introduction of the Hindustani language.

Of course the section will have its own ministerial staff which would be of stenographers, superintendents, clerks and typists.

The financial outlay of the section would not be very heavy. The Director can be given a salary of Rs.1,000-100-1,500, the Senior Research Officer that of Rs.720-50-1,000 and the Junior Research Officers Rs.350-25-800. These are the scales fixed for the officers of this status by the Finance Ministry. Initially therefore the expenditure would be about Rs.46,000 a year. The section will also have to incur expenditure on its library and journals and books which will be about Rs.10,000 non-recurring and about Rs.2,000 recurring for a year. Apart from this there would be usual expenditure on stenographers, clerks, peons which may come to about Rs.24,000 a year. The entire expenditure will be Rs.72,000 a year. It is to be hoped that the section would be able to complete its work at the most within a year. If that be the case, the total expenditure would be about Rs.80,000. It is not a heavy expenditure considering that it will save the country from any unforeseen consequences that may arise as a result of the introduction of Hindustani as the state language of India. It is, therefore, submitted in all humility that this question be taken into consideration.

31. A résumé of the events leading to the communal disturbances in Bihar in 1946

Communal relations in this Province had not been very happy even before August last; but actual communal tension was generally confined to places where incidents of a communal nature had occurred in the recent past. With the decision of the Muslim League to withdraw its previous acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plans, and the issue of a threat to resort to direct action for achievement of Pakistan, there was a general worsening of the communal situation. Nothing serious happened in this Province on the 'Direct Action' day, and the few incidents that occurred were promptly and effectively dealt with by the local officers; but as the news [of the Calcutta riots spread, the people] of this Province, who have intimate economic and other ties with Bengal and, in particular, Calcutta, were profoundly stirred. Feelings between the two

appeal to the people of Bihar, and widely circulated. Exhortations were made to the people in this appeal not to believe rumours, and to avoid loose talks, which had contributed largely towards creating mutual suspicion and hostility; and a warning was given to the mischief-mongers in the following words: "Mischief-mongers, and those who believe that issues, however important, can be decided by violence, must at the same time take the warning that Government is determined to preserve peace and order, and it will not hesitate to take the most stringent measures to put down any attempt, by whomsoever made, to disturb the normal course of people's life and activity."

6. The unfortunate incident at village Benibad in the Muzaffarpur district which took place on the 27th of September, however, caused a serious set-back to the improvement that had been noticed earlier. The incident arose on account of a rumour that a Bengali Hindu girl had been brought from Calcutta by a Muslim of the village. Though it was subsequently ascertained that the girl had, in fact, embraced Islam, and was regularly married to the Muslim, with whom she was living, a riot had occurred in the meantime, in course of which several Muslims had been killed and their houses burnt. This unfortunate incident would have been averted, but for the accidental breakdown of a police truck which was taking a magistrate with an armed police force to the village. As a result of this breakdown the force did not reach the village until after the incident had occurred.

7. The riot had repercussions throughout North Bihar, and to a certain extent even in other parts of the Province. A great deal of communal feeling was aroused also at Biharsharif about the same time by the somewhat unusual action of a gentleman related to the President of the Biharsharif Muslim League who, as the Secretary of the Cloth Distribution Committee of one of the wards of the town, had started stamping ration cards with the inscription 'Allah-ho-Akbar, Leke Rahenge Pakistan'. There was a dispute at Chapra where communal relations had been strained for some time, concerning conditions of licences under which Mahabiri Jhanda processions were to be taken out, on the 6th and 7th October, and it caused further embitterment of feelings between the two communities, even though the dispute was eventually settled through the intervention of the Commissioner.

8. It was in this state of communal relationship that the Province faced the Dussehra festival which is an occasion for serious anxiety to Government even in normal times; but, once again, local officers exercised the utmost vigilance and took elaborate precautions, and, as a result, the festivities were marred by a single riot which occurred at village Cheware in the Monghyr district. The Subdivisional Officer and an armed police party which was with him were stoned after the immersion ceremony was over, and had to open fire, killing one Hindu....*

9. As will be evident from the review of the situation in the Province from the beginning of August to the middle of October, given above, it was due to the vigilance of the Provincial Government and their officers, and the elaborate

precautions taken whenever peace was threatened, that the Province was able to tide over the successive crises with which it was faced after the League's decision to resort to 'Direct Action'. The communal relations had, however, gone on deteriorating, and the atrocities committed in East Bengal brought about the explosion which had so long been avoided. The effect of the stories of these atrocities proved beyond the powers of local officers to control. Accounts of the happenings in East Bengal, which were published in the Calcutta papers, were not contradicted by the Government of Bengal for some days, and were therefore taken to be authentic. They were re-published in the local Press, with indignant comments, and, as the Commissioner of the Tirhoot Division remarked in a report dated 28th October, the stories upset the balance even of the moderate and enlightened Hindus who had till then exercised a restraining influence on their co-religionists. The same officer further remarked that a vast majority of Hindus were thereafter obsessed with the idea of retaliation. Even more than the stories of murders it was the accounts of abduction of women and forcible conversions which outraged the feelings of the Hindus of this Province. The unfortunate failure of the Provincial Muslim League to issue any public statement condemning the atrocities was regarded by certain sections of Hindus as a silent approval by the local League of what was being done in Bengal; and this appeared to them to be a justification for an attack on the Muslim neighbours.

10. The attacks on Hon'ble Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan during their tours of the tribal areas, and the unseemly behaviour of the crowds at New Delhi just after the swearing-in ceremony of the new members, also aggravated the situation; and here again the failure of the Muslim League leaders in this Province to condemn these incidents was regarded as silent approval. The entry of the Muslim League into the Interim Government would probably have had a sobering effect on the public; but the statements of some of the prominent leaders of the Muslim League, including Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, one of the members-designate, had the opposite effect. People felt that the Muslim League had joined the Interim Government with the object of causing obstruction in the smooth working of that Government, and with intention, ultimately, to disrupt it. The Diwali, which fell on the 24th October, was not celebrated with the usual illuminations and rejoicings and became, in effect, an occasion for the expression of sorrow over the happenings in East Bengal. Meetings were held in several towns, including Patna, on the 25th October 1946, to protest against the atrocities in East Bengal; and these meetings were not prohibited, because it was thought that it would be unwise not to allow the deep indignation of the Hindu population to find a peaceful expression.

11. I have given above a résumé of the events that led on to the communal disturbances in this Province, and an account of the steps taken by the Government to prevent outbreak of communal violence. How trouble started and developed, in each of the affected districts, will be described hereafter; but mention may be made of the generally unhelpful part played by a section of the Press throughout this period of acute communal tension and danger to peace.

Threats were met by counter-threats, and while any idea of retaliation was disapproved, words were used which could not but further aggravate communal feelings. Three other factors which played a prominent part in bringing about a communal conflagration deserve mention. One was the formation by the Muslim League of 'Direct Action' Committees to train up Muslims to carry out the 'Direct Action' programme, and the recruitment and training of volunteers by the Muslim League and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in the use of arms. Another such factor was the surreptitious collection of lethal weapons by members of both the communities during the period under review. Reports about this were received by Government from time to time, and searches were made by local officers at certain places, and collections of such weapons recovered; but it was difficult to get reliable information about this activity and the collection went on, resulting in increase of mutual suspicion and fear. The third fact which deserves mention is the circulation, in different parts of the Province, of a printed leaflet signed by one Habibur Rahman of Calcutta which purported to reproduce directions of Mr. Jinnah as to the manner in which the Muslims were to conduct themselves for the achievement of their objects. In this pamphlet, elaborate instructions were given for the destruction of Hindu religion and culture, and for murder of Nationalist Muslims and Hindus, in particular Congress leaders. It is of course possible that this pamphlet is a forged document; but it could not have done greater mischief if it were genuine.

*The remaining portion of para 8 is missing.

32. *A resolution, replacing English by Hindi, suggested for adoption by the Constituent Assembly*

Whereas English cannot and must not for long remain the official language of Free and Sovereign India but should be replaced, at the Centre, by Hindi within a reasonable time;

And whereas it is expedient that foundation to that end be truly and firmly laid;

This Constituent Assembly resolves as follows:

I.(a) That the Constitution of India be framed in Hindi side by side with English.

(b) That a provision be made in the Constitution that the Hindi text and the English text shall be of equal authority subject to the following provisos, namely:

- (i) That in case of any discrepancy between the Hindi and the English texts the latter shall prevail for a period of five years from the date the new Constitution comes into effect.
- (ii) That on the expiry of the said period of five years the English text of the

Constitution shall cease to be valid and the Hindi text of the Constitution, for the time being in force, shall be deemed to be the only authoritative text.

II. That the Hindi version of the Draft Constitution prepared by the Hindi Translation Committee appointed by the Honourable the President be referred to a Committee consisting of the following members,* for such changes in the wording thereof as they may deem fit to make.

The Committee is hereby charged with the duty of piloting through the Assembly the Hindi version of the Constitution of India, incorporating such changes in the aforesaid draft as may be found necessary consequent upon the amendment of any of the Articles or the Schedules at the consideration stage.

*Names of members not included.

33. A note for the Congress Working Committee suggesting changes in the draft constitution

Article I. No change proposed.

NOTE: To clarify the significance of the phrase 'cooperative commonwealth' and to explain the need for change in the present constitution, I propose that a preamble may also be included in the constitution. The Constitution Committee did not approve of this suggestion but in case the Working Committee considers it advisable the following preamble may be included.*

Article II. No change proposed.

NOTE: But in view of clauses (i) and (ii) the rules of affiliation have to be framed.

I propose that the following rule may be passed:

Only those bodies which are engaged in approved constructive activities and which are of national importance and conducted by bona fide persons should alone be affiliated.

The Working Committee to be authorised to frame rules and to approve of affiliations.

Article III. No change proposed in clause (a).

NOTE: But the question of Congress functioning in Pakistan area has to be decided. The Constitution Committee has recommended that Congress should not function directly in areas outside Indian Union.

If this recommendation is acceptable to the Working Committee, the clause (a) in the draft will suffice.

A separate resolution may, however, be passed by the A.I.C.C. to the effect that the Indian National Congress will not function directly in any area outside

the Indian Union.

Clause (b): The words 'from time to time' after the word 'headquarters' in line 3 are superfluous and may be deleted.

Clause (c): As the wordings of the clause stand in the draft the meaning is not clear. I suggest that the following words may be added after the words 'new province' in line 3: 'or assign to a province', and in the same clause after the words 'after states' to add 'into a province' to make the meaning clear.

Clause (d): This clause would become unnecessary if the Congress cannot function outside the Union. So, I suggest that the clause may be deleted.

Article IV (deals with the various kinds of membership and their qualifications). Clause (a) to remain as proposed.

NOTE: As will be noticed from the wordings of this clause, a list of primary members will have to be prepared; otherwise it would be difficult to check unauthorised persons from voting at the time of election. Moreover, in view of the provision in clause (d) of this article, requiring two years' consecutive primary membership for becoming a qualified member, it would be necessary to have a register containing primary members.

Clause (c) should be deleted as it would not be necessary to renew membership. Once a person signs the creed and becomes a member he should be considered to remain so till either he is expelled or resigns.

Clause (d): The words in the second line, 'eligible for election to a primary Congress Panchayat', are redundant and should be deleted.

In the same clause while describing the conditions which a qualified member must fulfil there occur the following words: 'have respect for all religions'. The Constitution Committee have suggested that these words may be omitted as in its opinion it is asking too much of a person to expect him to have respect for all religions.

This clause was accepted by the A.I.C.C. at its last meeting and will have to be modified if the Working Committee approves of the omission proposed.

The Committee has further redrafted the wordings of this clause by substituting the following words as given in the draft: 'He must believe in status being determined by service and usefulness and not by race, creed or sex' instead of the words contained in the A.I.C.C. resolution which are: 'He must also believe in equality of opportunity and status for all, irrespective of race, creed or sex'.

The Committee was of the opinion that the words proposed make the meaning clearer regarding the complication of the word 'status'.

Clause (e): Instead of the word 'card' in the fourth line, the word 'certificate' may be more appropriate. Wherever the word 'card' appears the word 'certificate' should be used.

Clause (g): The words 'entitled to stand as a candidate for all Congress Committees' in the second line are also redundant and may be deleted; and in the ninth line of Clause (g) the word 'qualified' should have been there instead of the word 'effective' as the context of the clause will bear out.

Clause (h): The words 'and' to '..... one year' are also redundant and need not be there.

NOTE: The accompanying note explains the position regarding the enrolment of primary, qualified and effective members and the qualifications for voters and candidates.

Articles IV to VII deal with their provisions.

Article V. Clause (a) becomes unnecessary and may therefore be omitted. Clause (b) remains as proposed in the draft.

Article VI. Clause (a): The following words should be added to make the register useful: 'and date of enrolment'.

Article VII. Clause (a) to remain as proposed.

Clause (b): Line 1—the word 'all' is unnecessary; line 2—to add after 'residing' the following words: 'or carrying on business'; line 3—the word 'the' does not seem to be necessary. Lines 3 to 5 should read: 'At elections of delegates and subject to provisions made by the respective Provincial Congress Committee to all other Congress Committees subordinate to P.C.C.s.'

This clause if so worded would authorise the P.C.C. to hold indirect elections for constituting a District Congress Committee.

NOTE: In the resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. only Panchayat members are entitled to vote for higher committees. The Constitution Committee, however, has felt the advisability of allowing the effective members residing in that area to have the right of voting.

Article VII, section B (dealing with qualification of candidates). In clause (a) of the section, the word 'primary' to be substituted by 'qualified'; substitute the words 'of less than one year's standing' for the words beginning with 'who' and ending with '.....two years'.

Similarly, in clause (b) the word 'effective' to be substituted for 'qualified' in line 1 and 'or less than one year's standing' for the existing words beginning with 'who' and ending with '..... elections'.

Article VIII. In line 4 in clause (a) delete the word 'public' to remove any confusion. The word 'public' might mean that it will be open to the public other than members of the Congress.

In clause (b), line 2, after the word 'beyond', add the words 'an area consisting of' instead of the word 'on'.

In the last line substitute 'according to'.

NOTE: In the A.I.C.C. resolution the number of members of Panchayat was to be not less than five but the Committee has thought it advisable to recommend the lowering of the number to enable small villages to have their Panchayats.

NOTE: Clauses (b) & (c): In the original resolution 500 inhabitants were to return one member to the Panchayat. The Committee considers that 250 adult voters should form the basis for calculation rather than the number of inhabitants. It will be easier to determine the number of voters than the number of inhabitants.

Clause (d): The change proposed is consequential. Instead of 4% of

inhabitants, 8% of adult voters has been indicated.

Article IX. Clause (a): Omit the words 'prepare lists of qualified and effective members of the Panchayats in the province and shall'.

In the 4th line, after the words 'a statement', to delete 'in regard to the' and add 'containing the list of effective members and members of the Panchayat'.

Clause (f) gives the ex-President of the P.C.C. a right to be an ex-officio member of the P.C.C. Similarly, members of the A.I.C.C. co-opted from affiliated associations under Article II will be ex-officio members of the P.C.C., provided they ordinarily reside in the Province.

Article X. Clause (b): The change proposed in the manner of election of A.I.C.C. members is due to the opinion which all members of the Committee share that the system of voting by proportional representations as it is in force today should be discouraged as it leads to group formations. The Committee has retained the system for one-third of the members to be returned to the A.I.C.C. and two-thirds are to be by distributive voting as was the system in force before 1934.

Article XI. Clause (b): The meaning of the words 'co-opted by the A.I.C.C.' occurring in line 3 should be more applicable to the representatives of the affiliated associations.

Clause (c) (i) gives the right to such members of the P.C.C. who are resident in the localities to become ex-officio members of the D.C.C. and Taluka Congress Committees.

Article XII. In clause (a) the affiliated organisations have been given representations limiting the maximum limit of such representation to one-fifth of those otherwise elected by the delegates. The Working Committee has to make rules for such affiliated bodies and to fix the number of representatives for each affiliated body, if this clause is to be retained.

Articles XIII, XIV and XV deal with the Congress session. The procedure at present in force will continue in the new constitution, excepting some verbal changes consequent upon the acceptance of Triennial Elections.

In *Article XIII*, clause..., 1st line, the words 'newly elected' to be deleted.

Article XIV. Clause (d): I propose that the P.C.C. while making arrangements should do so in consultation with the A.I.C.C. office.

Article XVI. Clause (d): A slight change has been proposed regarding the election of President, to obviate the necessity of holding a second election in case no candidate secures absolute majority in the first voting.

Article XVII. Clause (e), section (iii): While delegating powers, the Working Committee should specify the extent and the conditions under which this delegation is to be made. So I propose adding the following words in line 5, after the words 'this power': 'subject to such conditions as the Committee may lay down'.

Article XVIII. No change proposed.

Article XIX. No change proposed in the draft.

Article XX. This is a new provision—to appoint a Credentials Committee to

scrutinise the list and to issue certificates. This has been necessitated by the changes in the constitution and in the light of experience gained during these last several years.

Whether it would be possible to get such a Committee remains to be seen, but provision has to be made.

Article XXI. Similarly, a Tribunal is being set up to try cases of election petitions.

Article XXII. No change proposed.

Article XXIII. Only a slight change is proposed in clause (c), last line. Instead of the period of one month within which the Tribunal has to decide, it would be now better if two months' time is allowed. So, for one month, the words 'two months' to be substituted.

Article XXIV. No change proposed.

Article XXV. No change proposed.

Article XXVI. No further change proposed.

NOTE: The change proposed is about the script. Devanagari has been proposed by the Committee.

Article XXVII. The same flag with Charkha has been proposed to be retained. Though Khadi has been used for the flag, it may be necessary to make it obligatory by adding the following words: 'and made from hand-spun and hand-woven cloth'.

Article XXVIII. The Working Committee has to consider these new clauses which are new to the constitution.

Article XXIX. No change proposed.

Article XXX. No change proposed.

*Preamble not included.

34. *A note by Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the Kashmir question*

It is to be feared that the U.N.O. Council has unconsciously fallen into the error of assuming jurisdiction over certain aspects of the Kashmir question which it cannot do under the Charter. The Council can take into consideration and make recommendations only on a dispute between member states which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. The Charter makes a distinction between a dispute, a question, and a situation. Dispute has not been defined by the Charter but its definition is a matter of crucial importance. It is defined as "a disagreement between two or more states which has reached a stage where the parties have formulated claims and counter-claims sufficiently defined to be passed upon by a court or other body set up for the purposes of pacific settlements" (page 38, *Charter of the U.N.O.—Commentary and Document* by Goodrich). Evidently these claims must be based on law, that

is to say, each party must be prepared to show that it has a legal right to make such a claim. In view of this fact it may be examined as to what particular dispute exists between India and Pakistan on which the U.N.O. Council can make its recommendation. Evidently it is not the question of accession of Kashmir or the method by which this question of accession can be decided. This is so because neither India had any right to claim that Kashmir should accede to it nor had Pakistan. In any case India had no legal claim against Pakistan that it should not accept the accession of Kashmir to itself nor had Pakistan any such claim against India. Consequently the question of accession of Kashmir could not be a dispute within the meaning of the Charter of the U.N.O. that disturbs the relations of India and Pakistan. The only such dispute is the passage granted by Pakistan to tribal raiders to attack Kashmir which is now legally a part of the Indian Dominion and it is only on this question that the U.N.O. can, within the meaning of this Charter, take any decision. On other questions it has no jurisdiction whatever, for that question is not a dispute in the sense defined above.

Further, Article 33 of the U.N.O. Charter does not apply to every kind of dispute as defined above. It applies only to a dispute 'the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security'. The question of accession does not endanger international peace and security by itself. Even Pakistan does not allege that, for the main allegation of Pakistan against Kashmir is not that it improperly acceded to India but that the Maharaja's Government began to practise genocide against the Muslims and on account of this genocide the tribal raiders went to protect their brethren in Kashmir. Even on the allegation of Pakistan, therefore, international peace is endangered not by the question of accession but by the policy of alleged genocide of the Kashmir Government. The U.N.O. Council, therefore, can at most consider the question of genocide which, according to Pakistan, is a situation threatening international peace and security. It cannot on any ground consider the question of accession of Kashmir to India which is not a situation threatening international peace and security. Thus it is submitted that the attempt of some members of the Council to make the question of a plebiscite as the central problem to be decided is ultra vires and beyond the powers of the U.N.O. Council. If this attempt succeeds, it will be a death knell to the U.N.O. because it will be clear to the states of the world that U.N.O. itself does not observe the very legal and moral principles for the establishment or enforcement of which it was established.

35. *Memorandum on the Kashmir reference to the U.N.O.—Historical background*

1. The State of Jammu and Kashmir formed the northern-most portion of the British Empire in India, as it was before August 15, 1947. It was founded by a Dogra Sardar of the Sikh kingdom of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, being conquered

by the former on behalf of the latter. Maharajah Ranjit Singh made the conqueror Governor of Kashmir, to which Poonch, Gilgit and Hunza were added in course of time.

2. The Province of Jammu was part of the ancestral possessions of the Dogra leader who, as a commander under Ranjit Singh, had conquered Kashmir. The State is, therefore, made up of two parts, or Provinces, which, except in the common headship of the Maharajah, may well claim to be distinct entities.

3. The governorship of Maharajah Gulab Singh in Kashmir was converted into hereditary rulership after the death of Maharajah Ranjit Singh. And in the war that followed between the British and the Punjab Government, Gulab Singh, who negotiated the Treaty of Peace, obtained, as his reward, confirmation of his hereditary rule in all the territories now forming the State of Jammu and Kashmir, by consent of the Sikh Durbar, as well as by the British Government. The latter were paid Rs.50 lakhs in consideration of their consent to the arrangement.

4. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is bounded on the north-west and south by territories inhabited overwhelmingly by Muslims. Its own population is also Muslim to the extent of 76% overall, while in the Province of Kashmir proper, the Muslim majority exceeds 95%.

5. With the establishment of Pakistan as a separate sovereign state, independent of India, and inhabited predominantly by Muslims, and following the tragic events that came in the wake of the partition, communal antagonism became unbearably acute. It manifested itself in every part of the two Dominions. The impact of the two-nation theory, apparently succeeding to the point of forcing complete partition of the regions on communal lines, led the Muslims to desire to come into ever closer contact and relation with their co-religionists of the new Dominion. Hence followed the mass migrations, as well as massacres of large numbers.

6. In the century of Dogra rule in Jammu and Kashmir, the State was bound by Treaty with the British Government of India. During that period, the public economy of the State was worked so as to create the closest links with the peoples and territories that now form the independent Dominion of Pakistan. Its roads and railways, its trade and finance, were all inclined to maintain and strengthen connection and dependence. Given, in addition, the cultural and religious affinity of three-fourths of the population of the State, with their neighbours all along the frontier, the inclination to associate with the new Pakistan state becomes irresistible.

7. Between the date when the British Cabinet Delegation declared the policy of complete independence of India and the final changeover, there was no question of any Indian State 'acceding' to this or the other Dominion. During these eighteen months, there was a rising crescendo of communal tension, which manifested itself in every corner of the land.

8. In Kashmir, the cry was raised for the Hindu-Dogra Ruler to "Quit Kashmir", which though sponsored by the National Conference of that State,

subconsciously echoed the desire of the Muslim majority of that State to be freed from the alien Hindu domination. The seeming affinity of the leaders of the National Conference of Kashmir with the Indian National Congress could not conceal the ultimate designs if once the two-nation theory became an accomplished fact.

9. So long as there was no question of the country being partitioned, it is possible the majority in this State might have been persuaded to follow the Indian National Congress policy, as the Congress was obviously going to be the successor of the British power in India. That organisation had accepted the principle of a loose Federation of India, in which the Centre would have clearly defined and restricted functions; while the component units would have all the residuary powers. This was the price the Muslim League had demanded for remaining in India; and this was the line the British Government had endorsed by its declaration of May 16, 1946.

10. As understood in Kashmir, particularly by the National Conference made up predominantly of Muslims, this meant substantial increase in local autonomy, free as much from the domination of the Hindu ruler, as from the possible stress from the Centre with its huge overall Hindu majority. The 'Quit Kashmir' movement was becoming superfluous, if not actually undesirable, in the new set-up; and hence the likelihood of welcome to that policy from the spokesmen of Kashmir Nationalism.

11. For the States as a whole, the new policy meant a looser control of the Centre, even if a State became part of the Federation. Theoretically, the British declaration of policy vis-à-vis the States had unilaterally renounced the Treaties, and abrogated paramountcy, so that the States were left free to choose for themselves.

12. Considerations of geography, of local economy, and of political developments had made it all but impossible for a majority of the States to remain independent, each as a sovereign entity in itself. Only half a dozen States could even conceive of such a possibility. And of these the majority joined up even before the political destiny of India—united or partitioned—had been decided.

13. There are two States, who, by the peculiarity of their historical tradition, geographical situation, communal configuration and local economy, could possibly dream of regaining and maintaining their independence—Hyderabad and Kashmir. The latter was under a Hindu ruler, with an overwhelming Muslim population; the former under a Muslim ruler, with a yet more overwhelming majority of non-Muslims in its population. The two States were comparable in point of area. And though Hyderabad had incomparably larger population, more developed resources, and greater revenue, Kashmir had more advantageous geographical situation, with its frontier running for hundreds of miles with other sovereign states. Surrounded by mountains, it was in a position to defend itself against outside aggression, which Hyderabad could not boast of.

14. With the reorientation of policy brought by the declaration of June 3,

1947, establishing two Dominions out of what was a united Indian Empire, the problem of the States took a new turn. Technically, the States remained free, even after June 3, 1947, to choose for themselves independence or accession to one or the other Dominion. But all the developments of the years preceding, and the entire trend of history for over a century, had rendered them incapable of resuming and maintaining independence.

15. On the other hand, the newly established States Department organised an intensive drive to round up all hesitators and make them accede to the Indian Dominion. The growing consciousness of the people of the States for full responsible government in their own region, as also for a merger with their fellows across the borders which had artificially kept them apart all these generations, made the old-time autocracy of the ruler untenable. To secure his own economic position, and maintain such remnants of power as were allowed under the Constitution, the ruler in most cases was no less anxious to accede to the new Dominion of India.

16. On this background, let us now consider the problem of Kashmir, as it has emerged after reference to the United Nations Organisation. The problem has arisen, in the first place, because of the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir having offered to accede to the Indian Union, on or about the 24th of October 1947, i.e. nearly ten weeks after the establishment of the Indian Dominion. The Maharajah had not considered it right and proper to accede to either Dominion by the last date, so to say, given by the Indian Dominion for such accession. He had desired to make a Standstill Agreement with either Dominion; but that was declined by the Government of India, while the Pakistan Government had agreed and made a Standstill Agreement with the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

17. The immediate cause of the Maharajah's deciding to accede to the Indian Dominion was the invasion of his dominions by the tribesmen across his borders, whom he was unable to repel by his own forces. The Indian Government agreed to his offer, on condition that the *de facto* accession was to be considered a temporary or provisional arrangement, to be confirmed later on by a vote of the people of the State and secondly that Sheikh Abdullah, the President of the Kashmir National Conference, and presumably leader of the people, should be placed in charge of the Interim, or Emergency, Administration of the State.

18. This arrangement was made *ex parte*, and notwithstanding the Standstill Treaty with Pakistan, who may well be presumed to be vitally interested in the matter. For not only did the greater portion of the frontier—perhaps nine-tenths—run with that of Kashmir, notwithstanding that by far the large majority of the population was, in the matter of religious complexion, of the same community as the majority of the population in Kashmir, the entire national economy of Kashmir was so framed as to depend vitally and be connected essentially with the Pakistan territory. It was, therefore, to be expected that the neighbouring Dominion will have something to say before the arrangement mentioned above could be accepted as a *fait accompli*, and acquiesced in accordingly.

19. The condition of a subsequent plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the people of Kashmir, in the matter of accession to one or the other Dominion, seemed to the Government of Pakistan—and perhaps also to a majority of the Muslim population in the State—to be a camouflage, which should not deceive anyone with an open mind on the question. Ex hypothesis, the referendum, even if held, was to be at some future date, when the disturbers of the peace were driven out of the State. In so far, however, as any considerable proportion of the people of Kashmir had sympathy and fellow-feeling with the so-called raiders; in so far as any considerable numbers of these 'raiders' were none other than the Muslims of Kashmir who had felt themselves in danger when large-scale disturbances were going on across the border, the condition seemed rather exiguous, or a trifle disingenuous, to those at least who were interested as Pakistan could claim to be. Finally, the pronouncements of the head of the Emergency Administration in Kashmir, Sheikh M. Abdullah, and his leading lieutenants, suggesting possibility of indefinite postponement of the plebiscite to determine accession of the State to India or to Pakistan, could not but suggest that the condition made by the Government of India at the time of accession was only meant to be an eyewash.

20. The accession, it must also be added, was made by the Maharajah, who was no doubt the head of the State, but who could scarcely claim to voice the sentiment of his people, or a majority of them, in view of the communal complexion of the population in the State, and in view of the cry raised only a couple of years before of 'Quit Kashmir' mainly addressed to him and his clan of rulers. The State had a Constitution, or a local Parliament, which was never consulted whether before the accession or after. If one ruler, who had a constitutional government, could decide the question of accession without reference to the local Legislature, why cannot another, which had no such forms of constitutional rule, decide the same question *suo motu*?

21. The question thus becomes, in its elements, a matter of force majeure, or clever tactics and effective manoeuvring for position. Before an unbiased authority, like the U.N.O., Pakistan could well urge the contrast between the procedure adopted in the case of accession to Pakistan of the ruler of Junagadh, and that adopted by the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir, accepted by the Dominion Government of India. It will do us no good to look at such matters from an angle most agreeable to ourselves, and shut our eyes entirely to the other side of the shield.

22. The situation has been immensely complicated by the personal equation, or individual prejudice. To take the principal individuals concerned *seriatim*, the Maharajah was driven to seek accession to the Indian Dominion, not because he loved that Dominion more; nor because he perceived a possible increase in his own safety or the continuance of his dynasty; but simply because he was unable, by his own force, to maintain the independence he had been seeking ever since the British paramountcy came to an end. He may, therefore, well be suspected of *arrière-pensée*, or mental reservation, when he offered to accede to India, and

agreed to the conditions made at the time. Outwardly he has carried out the condition, in so far as appointing Sheikh M. Abdullah the head of the Emergency Administration is concerned. It is, however, open to question if Sheikh Abdullah is fully recognised by the Maharajah as the leader of his people, or even of a majority of them; and whether he genuinely intends to have a free vote of all the adult citizens of Jammu and Kashmir to decide the crucial issue.

23. Sheikh M. Abdullah, head of the Emergency Administration, claims to be the leader of the Kashmir people, Hindus and Muslims, possessing their fullest confidence. Even if that claim was well founded at the time when there was no Pakistan, and therefore no alternative to becoming part of independent India, it may well be questioned if, in face of a neighbour of the character and complexion of Pakistan right across the border, the majority of the Muslim population would have followed him. And with the experience of what had happened in the Punjab and Hazara, in the days immediately preceding or following partition, it is more than doubtful if the Hindu and Sikh elements in the State population would have continued to live in Kashmir; and would, if they did continue there, have voted for accession to the Indian Dominion in their entirety. Thousands of Hindus are known to have migrated from Kashmir, and much more from Jammu; and they are unlikely to return for the mere purpose of voting in a plebiscite to decide the question of accession. The Hindu and Sikh minority in the State is thus still further reduced. Thousands and thousands of Muslims, also, have migrated; but once it is known that a genuine plebiscite is to be held, under impartial auspices, and without the fear of the bayonets whether of the Maharajah's forces or of those of his allies, these are certain to return in full strength.

24. Sheikh M. Abdullah's command, therefore, over the State's population, especially when it comes to such a crucial issue as joining a Muslim state or joining a non-Muslim state with the memories of massacres and atrocities that the non-Muslims of India must have against Muslims in Pakistan, may well be discounted altogether. His presence, in fact, in any conspicuous or responsible position is likely to act more as an irritant than placating the ruffled temper of the Pakistan authorities, or even the Muslim majority in the State.

25. On the Indian side, the principal champion of quick-forcing the issue in Kashmir may be taken, without injustice, to be Pandit Nehru. His partiality for Sheikh M. Abdullah is too evident in his pronouncements before and after these events to be mistaken. Kashmir he claims to be his native land, and so any sacrifice for retaining it in the Indian Dominion would not be too high. His contacts before 1947 had been such as to create a strong prejudice against the previous administration that had given such a blow to his vanity by preventing him from entering the State on a critical occasion in 1946 to secure release of Sheikh Abdullah as if by his fiat. Even when, on the second occasion, he was suffered to enter the State, there were none of those demonstrations, which are so dear to him. Blinded by his prejudice against those who had checked the 'Quit Kashmir' agitation of the Sheikh by due process of law, and misled by his belief that the Sheikh had but to be released and placed in charge of the Kashmir

administration for the entire population of that State, or at least a considerable majority, to decide upon joining the Indian Union, Pandit Nehru must have been more seriously disappointed, if not disillusioned, when Kashmir was invaded by the neighbouring Muslims to protest against the new set-up, and when considerable numbers of local Muslims supported the invaders.

26. The other personalities concerned in the Kashmir affair had minor parts to play. The last nominee of the Maharajah to the Prime Ministership of Kashmir was suffering from that sense of injustice and outrage which the Hindus of the Punjab could not avoid after the massacres in that Province which culminated in August/September of 1947. The States Ministry in India may have desired to secure a strong frontier in case of eventualities; and so acquiesced in, if not directly encouraged, the accession of Kashmir to India, notwithstanding the prospect of obvious resentment and opposition in the State itself, and in the neighbouring Dominion. They must have felt the entrance and establishment of the rule would have been the proverbial nine points of law which would performe confirm the occupation, converting it into accession. Everything thus combines to make of the Kashmir issue a mess.

27. Under these circumstances, it is a bit difficult to understand why we decided, after three months of warfare, to refer the matter to the U.N.; why, if we must refer, should there be so much urgency; and why, even if we regarded it as a matter of urgency, should it be the only issue to be referred. Pakistan, surely, had not given any evidence of being so dense or unmindful of their own advantage, to think that *they* would either run away from the reference, or, having accepted it, they would confine themselves only to Kashmir; or, finally, that taking the Kashmir matter in their stride, they would consent to accept all the premises and arguments you choose to put forward. Unless we are absolutely blinded by personal prejudice, or misled by individual vanity, we must recognise that there must be another side to this shield; we must realise that Sheikh Abdullah is not the freely chosen and sole leader of the people of Kashmir; we must understand that the circumstances attending the actual accession, and the conditions stipulated, were, to say the least, highly suspicious. We must at the same time grant that the parallel case of Junagadh was open to exploitation by Pakistan against us. Finally we should have considered the likely repercussions upon Hyderabad where we have been striving every nerve to secure accession, but have so far succeeded in getting only a Standstill Agreement for a year.

28. Once the reference was made to U.N.O., once we seemed to attach so much urgency to the problem, it was impossible to resile, when we discovered that the case was not, at least in the eyes of the Security Council, quite so clear as we in our infatuation had assumed. Nor must the events that followed or preceded, both in India and outside, should be overlooked in their reaction upon the matter. Mahatma Gandhi's fast, and the conditions under which it was terminated, made present an excellent argument to the advocates of the Pakistan case, which the latter were too shrewd not to exploit to their utmost. Our votes, also, in the U.N.O. on issues like Greece and the like had alienated Russia and Argentina, to

name but two, which cannot but react upon the number and zeal of our supporters. Finally, the propaganda artfully carried on by the champions of the Pakistan case, the presence of Abdullah counteracted by the opposing presence of the representative of the Azad Kashmir Government, and the tone as well as the expression our representatives had adopted, resulted in the inevitable estrangement of a considerable section of opinion in the U.N.O. which has brought us to the present pass.

29. Finding the U.N.O. Security Council inclining against us, we now demand an adjournment. At first the demand seemed to be for an indefinite period; but now the Delegation has promised to return as soon as possible. The Council will, in the meantime, go on with the other issues between Pakistan and India, notwithstanding the absence of our Delegation, or its principal members. This is a slap in our face, notwithstanding that, after making the demand for an indefinite adjournment, we have shown ourselves amenable to the convenience of the Council by our Delegation cancelling the passage at the eleventh hour. The impression has, consequently, gathered force that the Government of India are too confused to know their own mind clearly. The terms, moreover, in which the leader of the Indian Delegation made his last submissions to the Council, sounded more emotional than reasonable; and, as such, must have added to the growing inclination against India in the U.N.O. Security Council.

30. The situation now reached is thus very disappointing; and it does not diminish disappointment because much of it is due to our own handling of the case. There was no necessity, in the first place, to refer the matter to the U.N.O. Having made the reference we should have shown a firmer grip of the issues and taken a clearer stand than we have done. It is impossible to think of withdrawing, at this stage, from the Council. The case would go against us by default; and it will not help us to cite the precedent of South Africa, in its dispute with us, in which, though the Security Council had pronounced against the South African Dominion, it has been unable to implement its decision. We must not lose the moral sympathy, such as it remains, of the United Nations altogether.

31. What are the courses now open, if withdrawal from the U.N.O. is not to be considered? Either we must surrender unreservedly to whatever decision the Security Council takes, or stiffen our fight against the opposing elements—whether Kashmiris, or border raiders, or Pakistan supporters. It seems unlikely that we can force a decisive victory and present the Security Council with a fait accompli, in which the raiders and their supporters would have been finally driven out; and the State ready for a real plebiscite assuming we really desire one, and are convinced by objective evidence (not wishful thinking) that the result will be in our favour by however small a majority. In the alternative, we should throw the responsibility on the U.N.O. Security Council, and leave them to restore peace and orderly situation, whether with the joint help of Pakistan and ourselves, or with utterly outside forces, or with our present forces now in Kashmir; and hold the referendum under conditions which would ensure a free judgment.

36. *Report of the Delegation to Burma in connection with the Independence Celebration on 4 January 1948*

The Delegation consisted of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Special Envoy, Dr. Abdul Rauf, Ambassador of India in Burma, and Bhikhu Jagdish Kashyap of Sarnath. We arrived on the 3rd January noon by plane and were received by the President-elect of the Burmese Union and some of the Ministers and a large number of Indians and Burmese who assembled at the aerodrome. We attended the functions which had been organised by the Government. The first important function was the taking down of the Union Jack and the putting up of the Burmese National Flag at the Assembly Chamber. The astrologers had fixed 4.19 a.m. as the auspicious moment for this ceremony and the President-elect, the ministers, foreign representatives, envoys and ambassadors and a large crowd assembled in the quadrangle of the Secretariat at the entrance of the Assembly Chamber where after an inspection of the guard of honour by the President-elect, the Union Jack was taken down by a British officer and the Burmese Flag was put up by a Burmese officer simultaneously. An interesting feature of the ceremony was that the astrologers, who, it may be incidentally mentioned, are Hindu Brahmins from Manipur who had gone to Burma and had settled down there long ago and were still maintaining their old religious traditions, were present at the ceremony wearing white Indian dress and blew conches as the ceremony was performed. A meeting was held in the Assembly Chamber which was attended by foreign representatives and leading Burmese officials and the Prime Minister and the other ministers were sworn in by the President-elect. These functions kept us engaged till about 6 a.m.

2. Another function was announced to take place from 6.30 a.m. at the Government House which was till then occupied by the Governor and was known as the Government House. There a similar ceremony of taking down the Union Jack and putting up the National Flag of Burma was performed after which the Governor and the President-elect inspected a guard of honour and the Governor then departed in a procession to the port and took a cruiser of the British Navy which had been sent specially to take him back. After this the President occupied the house which had till then been occupied by the Governor and the name of the house was changed to "President's House".

3. A meeting of the Assembly was held at 11 a.m. and the assumption of power and the ratification of the Anglo-Burmese Treaty were formally passed by the Assembly. In the afternoon at 3 p.m. another meeting was held at the President's House where the Chief Justice and the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Chief Justice and the Judges of the High Court of Burma were sworn in before the President. Other officers like the Attorney-General and Auditor-General were also sworn in. The President thereafter met the representatives of foreign nations who formally expressed their good wishes which they had brought with them. At the Assembly session the messages which were brought from abroad were read and among them were messages of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

4. These were the official functions held on the 4th. On the 5th there was an interesting ceremony which we were told came down from old times. The President and the other prominent persons including foreign representatives had a trip on the royal barge in the great lake there.

5. The most interesting function from our point of view was held on the 6th morning at the President's House and at the Shwedagon Pagoda. All foreign representatives and other prominent persons were invited to this function at the President's House where he offered food to some 5 Bhikkus, the most revered among the Phongies, and presented them with a set each of their garb. It was at this function that the Special Envoy from India formally presented the sapling of the Bodhi tree and Ganga water which he had taken from India. We had taken saplings both from Bodh Gaya and from Sarnath and the Ganga water in a pot which had been specially prepared and handed over to us on behalf of the Hindu University, Benares. The presentation was made with a short speech and followed by a similar presentation by the representative of Ceylon, Mr. Bandaranayake, who had brought a similar sapling from the tree in Ceylon. The President formally accepted the gifts which he described as the most precious which could have been made to the people of Burma. It was also announced by the Special Envoy of India that the Government of Bihar were going to introduce a Bill handing over the management of the Bodh Gaya temple to a Board of Trustees consisting of Hindus and Buddhists. This announcement was also received with great satisfaction. Another announcement that was made was that of a gift of one lakh of rupees by Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad Sinha and his son Mr. C.P. Sinha of Zeyawadi in Burma, which was placed at the disposal of the President and the Prime Minister to be used for any purpose they considered fit at Bodh Gaya or at Sarnath or any other place or in any way they liked. This was also much appreciated. After this the sapling was carried in a procession of monks and nuns and the public, the President and the other ministers joining, to the Shwedagon Pagoda where with due ceremony the saplings were planted.

6. On the whole our presents as well as our participation in the function have created a good impression and a friendly atmosphere has been created.

7. Indians of all groups as also the Burma Government gave receptions at various places and all our time was fully occupied by these receptions.

8. A suggestion has been made that when the Bill is passed the management of Bodh Gaya temple should be placed in the hands of the trustees in a ceremony at which Buddhists should be invited. I consider this to be a good suggestion. The Baisakhi Purnima, on which day Buddha was born, attained enlightenment and passed away, will be a most suitable day for this function. It falls on the 23rd May this year.

9. One most interesting feature of the celebrations was that only Burmese language was used throughout. Their Constitution is also printed in Burmese and English side by side—Burmese version on the odd pages and the English on the even pages. The whole city was most artistically illuminated at night. The crowds at large showed remarkable discipline.

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